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MEMORIAL

OF THE

Two Hundredth Anniversary

OF THE

FOUNDING

OF

CHRIST CHURCH

PHILADELPHIA.

1695-1895.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY THE CHRIST CHURCH HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.
1896.

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MEMORIAL

OF THE

Two Hundredth Anniversary

OF THE FOUNDING OF

CHRIST CHURCH

PHILADELPHIA,

BEING A RECORD OF SERVICES AND OF SERMONS AND ADDRESSES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

CHRIST CHURCH, Philadelphia, having its potential origin in the requirement of the charter of Pennsylvania granted by King Charles II to William Penn which provided for services of the Church of England, dates its actual beginning from 1695. On November 15th of that year, the ground was purchased on which stands the present church edifice. The purchase was made by Joshua Carpenter, who, in a deed dated July 20th following, "acknowledged and declared" that his name was used in the deeds of purchase by "the special nomination and appointment of the community of the said church, and for their use and benefit," and that part of the lot of land was intended for a cemetery or churchyard, and that the church and the premises were to be perpetually appropriated and used for the public worship of God, and for the better instruction of the people inhabiting and to inhabit in Philadelphia, in the one Christian religion as it is professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the realm, and to no other uses whatsoever. Services according to the Book of Common Prayer had already been begun; and churchmen appealed for their *rights of worship.* One of the leading spirits in the embyro congregation was Colonel Robert Quary, whose gift of altar vessels of silver is still constantly used in the parish. With encouragement from Francis Nicholson, Governor of Maryland, advance was made and the first church edifice was built of substantial brick. The movement attracted the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and notably of the Rev. Thomas Bray, D. D., the earnest friend of the Anglican Church in the colonies. At the instance of the latter, Bishop Compton of London

sent over the first priest, the Rev. Thomas Clayton. The present, which is the second edifice of the parish, dates from so early as 1727.

The church thus founded has become the mother church not only of Philadelphia, but of the dioceses of Pennsylvania. Nay, more. Located in a city which grew to be the colonial metropolis, and which eventually became the first settled capital of the new nation, Christ Church has a unique relation to the formative events of American national history. As the church of Washington, Franklin and other of our heroes it is endeared to all Americans. Churchmen may well be pardoned a sense of pride that a parish of the Church is so richly associated with patriotic memories. But churchmen cannot forget that here occurred events notable in Church as well as State. For in Christ Church, our branch of the Catholic Church which is in communion with the archepiscopal see of St. Augustine, was definitely and finally organized into the Church in the United States. Here the Constitution and the Prayer Book of the American Church were adopted.

The Bi-Centennial of Christ Church, was, not unnaturally, an event of interest to Philadelphians, to Pennsylvanians, and to churchmen throughout the United States. The press of Philadelphia and of the country gave notable attention to the octave of services which constituted the celebration. The sermons and addresses were rich with historic reference and illustration ; and the interest felt in the occasion was so wide and so deep, that a general demand arose for the preservation of a permanent record.

Through the Christ Church Historical Association these pages are offered to the public as such record. We may all unite in hope and expectation, that through the blessing of the God of our fathers, the ancient parish will continue and increase its usefulness to future generations, and come in time to celebrate many another centennial anniversary.

C. E. S.

Bi-Centennial of Christ Church,

PHILADELPHIA,

1895.

PROCEEDINGS OF SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

ON Sunday morning, November 17th, at 11 o'clock, the first of the octave of services in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of Christ Church was held in the church. There were present the Rector, the Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, LL. D., D. C. L.; the Rector's Assistant, the Rev. E. Gaines Nock; the preacher for the occasion, the Rev. William J. Seabury, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity in the General Theological Seminary, New York, great-grandson of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., first Bishop of Connecticut, Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States; and the celebrant, the Rev. James Alan Montgomery, Assistant Minister of St. Peter's Church, son of Thomas H. Montgomery, Esq. (long a warden of Christ Church), and great-great-grandson of the Rt. Rev. William White, D. D., first Bishop of Pennsylvania, Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States. The Rector and his Assistant conducted the morning service. The Rev. Mr. Montgomery, as representing Bishop White, celebrated the Holy Eucharist, assisted by the Rector, and by the Rev. Dr. Seabury as representing Bishop Seabury. The congregation on this, as at nearly all public services of the octave, filled the venerable edifice to its utmost capacity. The sermon of the Rev. Dr. Seabury was as follows:

SERMON OF THE REV. DR. SEABURY.

All things are double one against another, and He hath made nothing imperfect.

One thing establisheth the good of another, and who shall be filled with beholding His Glory?—Ecclus. xlii, 24, 25.

In extolling the glories of the Almighty, the wise Author of this wonderful book here directs our attention to a certain characteristic of the Divine wisdom, manifested in His creation and ordering of the Universe. The perfection of His work is shown in the relation of the objects of creative power to each other. There is nothing in the ordering of the Divine wisdom which works alone and by itself, but each operation involves and depends upon some other operation which is essential to its completeness and perfection. All things are double, one against another, and one thing establisheth the good of another.

Either by way of harmony or of contrast, the perfect effect of the Divine wisdom is shown by this correlation of operation. Light and darkness, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, succeed one another, not merely in sequence of time but because, in the Divine wisdom, neither could produce its full effect for us without its relation to the other. In the natural world this relation and fitness of things to each other is wonderfully manifested; and that is found to be a pervading order which is expressed in the highest act of creative power, when it is said that "in the image of God made He man—male and female created He them."

So in the realm of abstract truth, whether we have regard to philosophy or morals or religion, we find the same correlation—insomuch that no principle can be understood or applied without the due consideration of some other principle by which its operation is limited or qualified. There

are principles which may seem to the thoughtless to be merely contradictory or mutually destructive. Yet the wise can see that each is infallibly true, and must be without question accepted: and thus he is lifted up to adore the wisdom which is shown in the preservation of that balance of the two which produces results which either by itself would prevent.

And when we look at the order of society, or of any department of society which is established by the will of man, we find the wisdom of such order most manifest when most regard is paid to the preservation of this balance in the application to human action of those principles which, however they may seem to work in opposite directions, are yet in themselves equally important to human welfare. Such administration is, after all, but the application to the needs of men at any given time and place of those natural principles of justice which, by the Divine wisdom, have been made essential in the relations of men to each other —for here also He hath made all things double one against another, and one thing establisheth the good of another.

And so with regard to that department of society which we call the Church. The Divine mercy has made provision for the association of men in a covenant relation with the Father, based upon the merits of the Atoning Sacrifice of the Son: and by the grace of the Holy Spirit men are enabled to keep that covenant and be accepted in the Beloved. To men thus associated are revealed those principles of truth and order which are essential to the preservation of their privilege; and all that the will of man can do in the formation and regulation of the several parts of such association is so to arrange the system in which they work as best to ensure the application of these pre-existing principles. In other words, while we cannot speak of the Church in any day or place as established by the will of

man, because it is already established by the Divine will; yet we may regard the form and manner of administration as the proper object of human care and authority, and may allow that there is a certain range or scope of action in which men of different times and places may apply the principles which they have received to hold, and pass over to succeeding generations. And as there is always in these principles a certain relation of truth to counter truth,[1] so there will always be among men who seek to apply these principles a proneness to dwell, some upon the one and some upon the other aspect of the truth: and thus there will always be the need of that wisdom in the counsels of the Church which can reflect the wisdom of its Divine Founder in the preservation of that just balance of principles which is essential to the perpetuation of right rule.

No reflecting person can consider the Church in whose sacred rites we join to-day, without perceiving the manifestation of this wisdom in a remarkable degree. The great principles of Divine grace and human free will; of the need of faith and the use of reason; of Sacramental grace and personal sanctity; of external evidence and inward assurance; of the sufficiency of scripture and the completeness of the traditional faith; of the grace of the Holy Spirit in ordination and the inward movement of him who comes to seek it by the same Spirit; of the Divine gift in Confirmation and the renewal of the human covenant; of regeneration in Baptism and the evil infection which remaineth even in them that are regenerate; of the One Oblation of Christ, once offered, and the continual presentation of that Offering by means of His own appointment,—such principles as these may serve as instances of the faithfulness with which the Church maintains

[1] Cf. "Truth and Counter Truth;" an admirable tractate by Rev. Thos. Richey, D.D.

the just balance of correlative truths; swerving neither to the one side nor to the other by an exclusive tenure of one truth without regard to that which has been made double over against it. Herein, too, lies the reason and the measure, of what is sometimes, with a misleading application, called the comprehensiveness of the Church: for the Church is rightly to be regarded as comprehensive, not because it insists upon no particular doctrine or principle of truth, and receives within its communion and orders all who would profess or teach whatever may seem to them to be truth; but because it maintains truth in its entirety, and, recognizing the equal truth of correlative principles, will not exclude those whose perception may not enable them fully to adjust every truth to its counter-truth, but receives such with the firmness of a true teaching, coupled with the charity of the hope of their ultimate acceptance of all its lessons.

If such be the wisdom which the Church has learned from the workings of its Divine Founder, may we not justly admire the application of this wisdom wherever in measure and degree we may observe it, and be ready both to emulate the example which is thus presented to us, and to be thankful for that ordering of the Divine Providence which has made it manifest?

It is not the least of all the glories of this venerable fane which it is our present purpose to commemorate, that from it have proceeded many influences which have helped to establish the Church in this country in the possession of that fulness or completeness of truth and order which makes it especially worthy of our affectionate admiration, and which have resulted from the harmonious combination of opposing principles. It is in connection at least with the history of this church that such harmonious combination has been accomplished, and we may fitly embrace the occa-

sion to recall the honour which is due to the place as being eminently distinguished by so remarkable an association.

The service in which we are engaged to-day introduces us to a very wide range of commemorative thoughts. Beginning with the foundation of the parish in 1695, when the re-settlement of 1688 in England had just prepared the way for the sturdier growth, if not for the planting, of constitutional ideas which had a marked effect upon the moulding of both Church and State in the colonies; continuing through the struggle for existence, amidst prejudice and opposition which had almost reduced the Church to extinction; watching over and fostering the growth and expansion of the Church under the new relations in which our Revolution had placed it, including within its communion and counsels many of the most eminent in civil affairs; and standing for half a century, through its connection with the patriarchal White, in a relation no less than that of a Canterbury to the whole of this great American province; Christ Church touches in its history, at one point or another, almost every vital interest that belongs to us as churchmen or as citizens.

It has appeared to me an act of most gracious courtesy, as well as of suggestive significance, on the part of the authorities of this church, to include with their proposed commemoration the name of Bishop Seabury, who lived remote from this place, and whose line of life touched that of this parish only on one notable occasion. The connection necessarily suggests the bearing of the history of this church upon that which is of common interest to the Church of the whole country. I ask, therefore, to be permitted to select from the great range of associations which flow out from the life of this venerable parish one which relates especially neither to the beginning nor to the later years of your history, but which brings more prominently into view the period midway between these—a period for which the times

which are in God's hands had been preparing from the beginning, and whose effects upon subsequent history have been abundant and abiding.

In this sacred place, in the year of our Lord 1789, was organized the first General Convention, properly so called, consisting of representatives of the Church in several States of the Civil Union, duly authorized and empowerd to confirm and ratify a general constitution, respecting both doctrine and discipline, for the use and benefit and obligation of every Church in a State which was represented in such Convention and acceded to its authority.[1]

Other meetings of clergy and laity from different States to confer in regard to an ecclesiastical union had been held between 1784 and 1786; but those who attended such meetings, while they called them Conventions, as in a lax sense they might, were not possessed of the right to bind their constituents. All that they agreed upon had to be referred back for the consent of the Church in the States represented, and therefore their measures rested upon recommendation only, and had no authority.

In the Convention of 1789 the case was different; and what was there determined was agreed upon and ratified with all the authority which the Church in the States could confer. Nor was there any other authority by which the common Constitution could be made effectually binding upon the Church in any State, except what might be derived from its own consent and ratification, thus expressed. That the Church existing in the several States composing the Civil Union was the same Church which had existed in the colonies before the Revolution, and that so existing in the colonies, it was a part of the Church of England, and as such under obligation of conformity to the general principles of faith and order which underlie the administration

[1] Bioron's Journals, pp. 26–48.

of the Catholic Church of Christ, is true. But whether those general principles were to be administered by the Church in each State for itself alone, or, for that matter, in lesser or other groups, who could authoritatively determine? The only common bond, so far as external government was concerned, in the Church in the colonies had been found in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, who represented the oversight of the English episcopate. When, in the course of Divine Providence, these States became free and independent that jurisdiction in fact was no longer exercised. During the war it was in abeyance; at the conclusion of the war it was practically abandoned. The result was the existence of a number of congregations, with the presbyters respectively in charge of them, living in the communion of the Church of England, adhering to its faith and order, but without the possession of the episcopate, and so without that common bond which would have sufficed to keep them in union with each other. Until the episcopate could be supplied to them, and so "locally adapted" as to ensure their unity, what hindered these clergy and congregations from falling into confusion and anarchy? What hindered them, as Bishop White puts it, from "taking different courses in different places as to all things not necessary to salvation? which might have produced different liturgies, different articles, episcopacy from different sources, and, in short, very many churches, instead of one extending over the United States."[1]

Shall we attribute our deliverance from these evils to the good sense of the people; to the strength of the persuasion of the moral unity of those who, although politically distinct, were yet of one blood, of one language, and of one faith; to the wise statesmanship of noble spirits, and, preeminent among these, of Bishop White himself? Yes,

[1] Bishop White's Memoirs, p. 98. Ed. 1836.

truly, to each of these in its own degree. Yet all these are but secondary causes, operating under the will of that Divine Providence which had prepared the field for the work which was to be done in it. The course of history which had given to each colony its chartered right of individual existence, to each State its independent freedom and sovereignty, had enabled the members of the Church in every State to realize their unity with each other, and so to recognize one obvious restraint upon individualism. The course of history, enacted before their own eyes, and in great part by their own agency, which had formed ONE out of MANY, demonstrating the possibility of unity of authority, consistently with the reservation of a severalty of right, had shown the way for the members of the Church in any State to establish a community of interest and authority with the Church in every other State, without forfeiting or merging its own individuality. So the wisdom which hath made all things double one against another, taught our predecessors in the Church to bring order out of chaos, or rather to prevent chaos by the preservation of order, by walking straight in the path which the Divine Providence had prepared for them: and in the absence of the episcopate, which had been temporarily withdrawn from them, to follow the principles and precedents of association which were directly before them. And while the Church in each State preserved its individual right and authority over its own members, it joined with others in constituting a common form of government which should operate with direct authority upon every individual member of all. The episcopate was no more disregarded, or intended to be disregarded, in the system than the matter of the faith itself; but it was not the episcopate which produced this union. Without the previous operation of the episcopate, the Church in these States

could never have existed. Without its subsequent operation the Church in these States could not have continued to exist. But in the Providence of God the episcopate, as such, was not a factor in the production of that ecclesiastical union which made ONE out of MANY in the constitution of the Church existing in the States thus associated. What established that ecclesiastical union was the voluntary and federative action of the Church in those States by their duly authorized representatives who came together here in 1789; and the means by which they accomplished that result was the adoption of a written Constitution—one great act—one grand bond of perpetual union, whose several parts can never be anything but components of one entirety, no matter with how many sibilants its name may be stigmatized. The mind which was used by God's Providence for the conception of this plan, and which was enabled by God's grace to be chiefly instrumental in its accomplishment was that of the then Rector of Christ Church. May his memory be forever blessed, and may this great memorial of him be in substance forever preserved, and defended from all things which are not legitimately deduced from the principles involved in it.

I said that the episcopate, as such, was not a factor in the production of this union, but of course I shall not be understood as saying that bishops had no part in the establishment of it—much less that the right and authority of their order was excluded by it.

When the Constitution was adopted in August, 1789, there were bishops in two of the Churches engaged in the union, viz.: of Pennsylvania and New York. When it was adopted, as amended, in October of the same year, there were bishops in three of the Churches so concerned, viz.: of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and New York. In the draft Constitution of 1785 and 1786 provision was made

for the membership in the Convention of the bishop in every State in which one should be consecrated and settled. In the Constitution of 1789, provision was made for the formation of a separate Episcopal House, when there should be three or more bishops. Their connection with the system was contemplated by those who formed it from the beginning: but in this formation the contemplation was as of the future, and not as of the present; and naturally it underwent a process of development in which the episcopal influence and position attained more just proportion to the whole. The germinal idea of the whole system was in fact conceived, and to some extent elaborated, by Dr. White, on the supposition of the impossibility of obtaining bishops: in which supposed necessity, and during its continuance, their place was to be supplied by temporary substitutes. When the necessity imagined was proved not to exist, this feature of course was abandoned; but so far as the union of the Churches in the States, and the application of the authority of all to the members of each was involved in the system, it was a matter apart from and independent of episcopal influence and action.

Naturally under these circumstances, when that came to be realized which had all along been anticipated, there were serious questions to be answered, and, indeed, momentous issues to be settled.

There was here an epoch in the history of the Church. Never in the whole course of that history had such an event occurred as that the clergy and laity of a whole country should undertake the process of association, constituting an organic unity of administration for themselves, without bishops—upon whom as the successors of the Apostles devolve the right and the duty of maintaining and perpetuating such organic unity. Such a position might find precedent, to be sure, in communities detached

from the body of the Church to which they belonged, and withdrawn from the episcopal communion and régimen. But such is not the case here presented. These men were still within the episcopal communion: and that they were not still under episcopal oversight resulted from no fault or intention of their own. They felt themselves obliged to do, so far as they could, of their own motion, that which had they been duly supplied with bishops it would doubtless not have occurred to them to do. And seeing that, in what they did, they intruded upon no spiritual function of the Apostolic Office, nor laid unlawful hands upon what the Divine Founder of the Church had kept within the gift of His own consecrated succession, I humbly conceive that they were called of God to do what they did.

Known unto God are all His works. We are fain to lament the failure of the Church of England to supply the episcopate to these colonies. There is just ground of complaint, for many reasons and in several points of view. But when men will not do the right which they ought and which there seems no sufficient reason to avoid, we must be content to believe that some reason exists in the Divine wisdom which prevents the accomplishment by the Divine Providence of that which is simply and in itself good. Is it not obvious, as we now look back upon the colonial period, and the period of organization which it introduced, that if England had sent us the bishops whom we had a right to have it would have prevented, if not destroyed, the opportunity which the Revolution brought to us? Had there been so much as one bishop exercising throughout the colonies that oversight which had belonged to the Bishop of London, and succeeding to his jurisdiction, he would have brought with him and perpetuated more or less of that association with temporal power and rule which has always been the bane of the episcopate since the time

of Constantine. And there would have been the further consequence of the combination or fusion of the whole number of his followers into a single community, so that there could be no probable discrimination of them into various constituencies, such as now is, and from the beginning has been the safeguard of our system against the arbitrary power, as well of popular majorities as of official action. Now, by the blessing of God, having endured the discipline of His temporary restraint of privilege, we have not only to be thankful for a "free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy," but also for such a distribution of power as furnishes the most salutary possible check upon the tyrannous application of the common authority to the individual Christian.

The ordeal of those who made the epoch, however, was very great; and it is not easy for us to understand all that they felt. In regard to this matter of the episcopate and its place in the system, it is manifest that there were two ideas; and if one was not exactly double against the other in the true sense of those words, at least one established the good of the other.

There has been floating in the minds of many since the Reformation the idea that the episcopate, however it may be desirable, is not necessary to the being of the Church. In such minds—I speak of those who accept, and not who reject episcopacy—there is apt to be present, with more or less vividness, the vision of a case in which episcopacy cannot be had: and they found a question upon this as to the propriety of insisting upon that as necessary, which in a case of necessity must be dispensed with. It may be safely said that no such case has ever arisen, or can arise, except under the most limited and transient circumstances, not affecting the perpetuity of the order. But perhaps there never were better grounds for the apprehension that

this anticipated exigency had arrived than there were at the time now under consideration.

The idea, which is the antithesis of this, is that the episcopate, since it is necessary to the being of the Church, cannot fail: and the working of these two ideas is well illustrated in this period. While there were some that took pains to provide against the contingency of the failure, or of a still indefinite postponement, there were others that rested not until they had taken effectual means to prevent that failure. Hence came to pass that difference of opinion in regard to the propriety and feasibility of the organization whose consummation is now commemorated, which was so quaintly and happily expressed by Bishop White when he said that, while it was maintained by some that we should "first have an head, and then proceed to regulate the body."[1] It was rejoined by others, "Let us gather the scattered limbs, and then let the head be super-added." The latter counsel prevailed in the Middle and Southern States; the former was acted upon by Connecticut, and sustained in the other Eastern States. Immediately upon the first tidings of peace, the clergy of Connecticut took their stand, and believing that the causes which had hindered the gift of the episcopate were now removed, made choice of a presbyter for that promotion; and before the last of the retreating forces had left the coast Dr. Seabury had sailed for England in quest of consecration. This action took place in March, 1783, a year before the first step toward the gathering of the scattered limbs had been taken. The consecration, as you know, was not obtained in England, but after a patient waiting of sixteen months in that country, it was obtained from the bishops of the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, as

[1] Bp. White's Memoirs, p. 98.

they pathetically styled themselves. The consequences of this consecration, far-reaching in many respects, most directly affected the organization under consideration: for first, it demonstrated the possibility of consecration, and thus removed from the weak in this country and the politic in England, the excuse for assuming the necessity of doing without bishops; and secondly, it crystallized the Diocesan State idea, and led to the conspicuous manifestation of the federative character of the ecclesiastical union, by presenting the spectacle of a complete Church within one State, voluntarily and upon conditions acceding to the Constitution already adopted by others for their common government.

And the combination of this episcopacy with that afterwards obtained from the English bishops, united in one the sometime divergent lines of the Scotch and English successions, and welded these twain, which had long been one against the other, into an indissoluble unity in this country, which was not without its healing effect in the lands from which they came.

But the wisdom which hath made all things double, one against another, and in which one thing establisheth the good of another, guided our forefathers most effectually in respect to the balance attained in our system of the two correlative principles of the authority and the duty of rulers. Perhaps better words might be used to denote these two principles, but I can think of no others more apt. It is incident to the possession of power that there should be a tendency to a tyrannical abuse of it. It is incident to the rightful resistance of tyranny, that there should be a tendency to the rejection of lawful authority. The battle has been fought all along through the ages, and must be fought while human nature lasts. Happy are those who live under the needful restraints of a just authority, and

who can retain their own just right of freedom, without depriving others of their just right to rule.

You know how largely this battle has been concerned with questions of episcopal power. I need not recite to you the stories of the strife of Investitures, of Puritanical protests against Prelatical pretensions, of the apprehension and dread of the introduction of the episcopate into this country, the intensity of which was not the least of the moving causes of the Revolution which produced our independence. I need only point out to you that, in the Providence of God, it came to pass here that the Church found itself under the shelter of a civil power, which, for the first time since Constantine embraced Christianity, declined—either on the plea of conscience or of policy—to meddle with the affairs of the Church, and assumed an attitude altogether external to it. And it was the very basis of this civil system of which the members of this Church were a part, that a just government must steady itself by the consent of the governed. The statesmanlike perception of Bishop White, and those who were associated with him, divined the bearing of these facts upon the needs of the Church, and seizing the principles involved in them they embedded them in the very foundation of the system which they established. Thenceforth the laity of the Church exercised for themslves the powers in which Christian princes had before acted as their representatives, and thenceforth the divinely constituted authority of the Apostolic Office is administered under the divinely imposed limitation of the duty of consultation with inferior Orders and laity; which involves, in all matters pertaining to jurisdiction, as distinguished from order, the correlation of the principles of a supreme authority derived from God and not from the people, and of the right of the people to

formulate their own consent in lawful ways to measures to which they are to be required to yield obedience.

In the settlement of this Constitution it was one of the most important of the steps to be taken that proper provision should be made for the continuance of a common form of worship, and a commonly accepted statement of those principles of faith and doctrine which worship involves and implies. It was, indeed, the most important step which could be taken. If nothing else had been accomplished, the adoption, for perpetual use, of the Book of Common Prayer, with all the principles of faith and order which are embodied in it, would have sufficed to establish the union on the soundest and most enduring foundation.

It is well known that the Book of Common Prayer was originally the result of an endeavor to establish the uniformity of the Divine worship among a people who were accustomed in various places to various uses. It is, perhaps, not so generally known that there was some reason to apprehend in the origin of the American system, that the custom of various uses in different places might again prevail. The Proposed Book, the result of a revision at the meeting of clerical and lay delegates in 1785, was set forth by that meeting as a provisional use; and, being published in 1786, was by the delegates in that year sanctioned until more authoritative provision should be made. At the Convocation in Connecticut in the same year Bishop Seabury set forth a Communion office, recommending it to the Episcopal congregations in that State, provision having been previously made for such changes in other parts of the services as had appeared to be needed.[1] In both of these directions much more was contemplated than the

[1] Cf. Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart's Historical Sketch in his edition of Bp. Seabury's Communion Office.

mere adaptation of the English book to American conditions, and in different ways it was sought to improve the occasion by what were respectively regarded as beneficial changes. It was the privilege of the General Convention of 1789, assembled with power to ratify a book which would be accepted as authoritative by the Churches in the several States, and including in its counsels the sanction of the episcopate, without which no liturgy could have ecclesiastical force, to determine the uniform and common manner of public worship, and to recognize the principles of faith and order which the right conduct of that worship involved. From this great act and, as it were, from under the shadow of this holy place have flowed out, as from a well of living water, those blessed and refreshing streams which have ever since satisfied devout souls that have been athirst for God in every part of this vast land and throughout the world in which its missions have spread. I may not enlarge upon the blessedness of this Divinely aided act. I would only be permitted to point out that here also we find the traces of that Divine wisdom which hath made all things double one against another, and hath made one thing establish the good of another.

For in worship, as in other provisions of the Divine will for man, there are two ideas not so much contradictory as complementary of each other; and these indicate principles in the proper balance of which only can right be found. The direct uplifting of the soul to God is the essence of all worship, and that only which makes the outward expression sincere and effectual in the individual case. But the outward expression, besides being the necessary attribute of a common or public worship, is also the natural means by which the inward consciousness of adoration is enlivened and made effective.

In the reaction from excessive formalism which followed

the Reformation, the inward or subjective idea acquired undue inportance in the minds of men, and it was forgotten or overlooked that, in those primitive ages of the Church, in which the inward spirit had been most devout, the outward manifestations of it were most rich and exuberant. Particularly in regard to the Holy Eucharist—the central point of all worship—was this true: and the tendency brought with it the obscuring of all conceptions of its character except such as were connected with the exercise of the inward emotions. Its refreshment was in the mental remembrance of the Atonement of the Redeemer; its character of worship was not in the act itself, but in the thankful sentiments which the observance of the act engendered. So it was not strange that the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist, as being the means appointed by Christ Himself for the presentation of His Sacrifice for a perpetual memorial to the Father, should be lost sight of, and other aspects of that Holy Sacrament, just enough in themselves, should alone be considered.

It was the recovery of the true balance of these ideas, by the restoration of the oblation and invocation in the Eucharistic office, which was brought about by the adoption, in this convention, of the Prayer of Consecration, as it had been derived, through Bishop Seabury's office, from the Scottish Church, which had adhered in substance to that primitive and Catholic form, the revival of which had been among the glories of the Reformation in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, but which, under Puritanical pressure, had been pared to the quick in the second book of that reign. For this blessed restoration we are, under God, chiefly indebted to Bishop Seabury, who had preserved, and shaped, and exemplified, and urged with respectful insistence this venerable and sacred tradition. But in this place, and under these circumstances, we may

not forget our obligations also to the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the president of the House of Deputies, for so impressively reading the prayer before that body that all prejudice against it was disarmed:[1] nor may we here, more than elsewhere, forget our obligations to Bishop White for his cheerful co-operation in this particular with Bishop Seabury in the episcopal house, and for the unfailing charity and good sense which could see no superstition in these ancient forms, and which, even if indisposed himself to accept them in their full sense, prevented him from hindering others from the benefit of them.

If you can pardon, dear brethren, the dryness of some of the details which could not well be avoided in a task of this sort, I trust that you will be deeply impressed, as I myself am, with the consciousness of the profound gratitude which we owe to our forefathers of the period to which I have referred, as the point at which the wise and holy influences which have emanated from Christ Church have touched the most vital and tender interests of the Church of Christ in our whole communion in this country.

By others you will doubtless in the course of this commemoration be reminded of many other particulars of your parish traditions. The present reference to them has seemed best suited to the effort which it has been devolved on me to make. There is nothing, I am persuaded, more notable or more important in the contemplation of what God hath wrought for the Church in this country than the understanding of the complex character which has been impressed upon it by Him whose wisdom hath made all things double one against another. And while there are many great and honourable names connected with the epoch which we have considered, yet the names

[1] "Christ Church in the Revolution," sermon by Bishop Perry.

of those two, to whom so frequent reference has been made, must ever stand as the chief exponents of that harmony or balance of correlative truth for which this Church is perhaps most eminently conspicuous in the Christian world. I thank God that the symbolism of this harmony is noted on this day by the ministrations in this place of a priestly descendant of each of these two brethren in the episcopate, and that, as the elder serving the younger, I may be permitted to receive the Bread of Life consecrated in the form associated with the name of Seabury, from the hands of a descendant of White. I pray God to bless his priesthood to his own eternal peace, and the comfort and salvation of many souls.

May He, in whose wisdom all things are double one against another and who hath made nothing imperfect, sanctify with His continual grace, and protect with His perpetual providence the church which has thus far been by Him enabled so fully to reflect His own wisdom, and to constitute and perpetuate a system which hands down to succeeding ages the Catholic verities of a venerable and primitive tradition, and brings to bear upon the difficulties of their application to modern times the wise discretion of a sanctified reason, which not only proves all things, but also holds fast that which is good.

And may this holy place, in which so eminently one thing has been made to establish the good of another, be preserved in its good work of faith and love until the end of time shall come, and in the brightness of the beatific vision of God, they that have learned and loved the truth shall be forever filled with beholding His glory.

ADDRESS BY THE REV. DR. STEVENS.

On the afternoon of Sunday, November 17th, a service was held for children of the parish. The Rector, the Rev. Dr. Stevens, delivered an extemporaneous address. He detailed scenes in the history of the church, beginning with a description of the primeval forest that originally occupied the site, and of the Indians who were accustomed to perform savage dances and other rites at a pond near by. He narrated the incorporation by King Charles II in the charter of Pennsylvania granted to William Penn of the clause providing for services of the Church of England, by right of which Christ Church had been founded. He recounted the history of the colonial period, referring to the use of the church as the official place of worship of the colonial governors, and eventually of the Penn family. The colonial wars were alluded to, and the fact that the parishioners had sent powder and bullets to fight the French and Indians in the Seven Years' War, and had delayed the building of the spire in order to do so. The grave of Gen. Forbes, who commanded the successful expedition that captured Fort Duquesne, was pointed out in the chancel. The erection of the spire by a committee, of which Franklin was an active member, was told. Then followed an account of the relation of Christ Church to the Revolutionary War; of the meeting in the church of the Continental Congress, and of the ringing of the bells in welcome of the Declaration of Independence. The time of the making of the Constitution of the United States was also referred to, and the presence in the church at that period of many who were engaged in the great undertaking.

The narrative of subsequent events began with a description of the worshipping for six years in Christ Church of

the first President of the United States, George Washington,—regularly accompanied in the Washington Pew by Martha Washington. The singular fact was noted that here also had worshipped Mrs. Ross, the maker of the first American flag; and Joseph Hopkinson, author of the national hymn, "Hail Columbia." The presence in the church of notable men of our history, including the Marquis de Lafayette, was touched; and the association of the church with great names of the War of 1812 and of the Rebellion. Finally the relation of Christ Church to the Church in the United States was dwelt upon,—this being the spot where met the first House of Bishops and the first House of Deputies; where the American Church was organized, and its Constitution and Prayer Book adopted; and where, in later years, the General Convention officially celebrated the first centennial of our national communion.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18th.

On the morning of this day the Holy Eucharist was celebrated at an early hour. In the evening there was a festival for the Sunday-school in the Parish House.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19th.

The early celebration of the Blessed Sacrament was continued. In the evening a public function in connection with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was held in the church in the presence of a distinguished gathering. The President of the Society, Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.,

ex-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was introduced by the Rev. Dr. Stevens, and delivered an address on "The Historical Relations of Christ Church with Pennsylvania."

ADDRESS OF CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D.

The history of the indirect influence of Christ Church upon the lay element in Pennsylvania, in the provincial era, is not as interesting nor as attractive a topic as the ecclesiastical history proper of the church. The most conspicuous examples of such influence are to be found in the repeated but unsuccessful efforts made by members of this congregation to persuade the King to subvert the Proprietary government, the administration and policy of which they alleged tended to destroy the exercise of their rights and privileges, civil and religious, as free-born Englishmen. On four different occasions at least in seventy years its members were the leaders of such a movement, and I propose, in treating of the topic which has been assigned to me, to explain why they adopted such revolutionary measures to destroy the government under which they lived.

The lay element in Philadelphia society in provincial days belonging to the dominant religious sect, may be said to have been for many years unfriendly to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and it watched the growth in strength and power of Christ Church with suspicion and jealousy. From the beginning there were two parties here: the Church party and the Quaker party. The former contended that its opponent had usurped power not granted by the Charter of the Province, to the manifest injury of the civil and religious rights of other free-

born Englishmen. Strange to say, Christ Church,—although flourishing for more than seventy years in a peaceful community, with absolute freedom of worship, the right to which had never even been questioned by the Quaker rulers of the Province nor by anyone else,—was in a very important sense a Church Militant. Indeed, I do not think it is going too far to say that in no American colony were the Church and those who dissented from it during many years placed in more open and violent antagonism. The Quakers formed for a long time the dominant party in the Province, and Churchmen alleged that it exercised at times its power in such a way as to conflict with the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the members of the *Established* Church. The latter, feeble in number, constantly resorted to the Imperial power in England to maintain what they claimed to be their civil and religious rights and privileges. They petitioned the King to force the Quaker magistrates to take such oaths of office as were customary and obligatory in England, and to which alone they attributed any binding legal force here. They asked that the juries and witnesses in the courts should come under the same formal obligation, that the right of petition, which they alleged the Quakers had set at naught, should be maintained as sacred, and that they should be forced to place the Province in a state of defence against the pirates and Indians, by whose incursions they were threatened. Feeling that there was little prospect of compelling the Quakers to adopt any such measures of legislation in the Provincial Assembly as the emergency required, they earnestly urged the King to dispossess the Proprietor, to dissolve the existing government, and to govern Pennsylvania henceforth as a Royal Province.

There is a popular opinion that the Provincial Régime in Pennsylvania was marked not only by religious tolera-

tion, but by absolute religious freedom; that there was, during this provincial era, a kind of idyllic tranquility and harmony here, resulting from non-interference with the religious rights and opinions of those who did not agree with the ruling party. Those who hold such opinions forget that although William Penn, our founder, was the most enlightened political philosopher of his time, and one of the earliest advocates, since the days of the Emperor Constantine, of absolute religious freedom, none of his successors in office held the same opinions as he. There was not a Quaker among them. They and their Deputy Governors during the whole Provincial Régime were strong adherents of the English Church, as by law established, and in an important sense special patrons of Christ Church. Their notion of other people's religious rights did not extend beyond the protection vouchsafed to Dissenters by the English Toleration Act (so called) of 1689. They held that the Quakers had no special power in this Province to enlarge the indulgence granted by that Act. The history, therefore, of the comparatively small body of Episcopalians here, or of the members of Christ Church (for I use in this paper the terms as equivalent), is a history of strife for objects which we may now think trivial, but which both parties, two hundred years ago, looked upon as fundamental. It is, of course, not pleasant to recall the history of more than seventy years of religious discords, but I trust that we are now far enough away from the battle-field to describe its scenes with impartiality and truth. If I am forced to "rake up the ashes of our fathers," I trust that it will not be necessary to disturb them further than to throw light upon the scenes in which they were such conspicuous actors.

By the "great law" adopted by the freemen at Upland in December, 1682, it was provided that "no person now or hereafter living in the Province, who shall confess one

Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and professeth himself or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion and practices; nor shall be obliged at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his mind, but shall fully and freely enjoy his or her liberty in that respect without any interruption or molestation." This provision, it will be observed, establishes religious toleration, not liberty.

Before the Charter was granted by the King, it was submitted to the Bishop of London, and an amendment was made to it, at his instance, providing that that Bishop should have power to appoint a chaplain for the service of any congregation, consisting of not less than twenty persons, who might desire such a minister. Out of the different interpretation which was placed by the Quakers and by the Church people on this innocent looking provision, arose all the bitterness of the controversy which characterised the relations of these religious bodies during the Provincial era. There never was, it seems to me, a religious dispute in which each side was more sincere in maintaining opposite views. The Quakers insisted that the principal object which Penn had in view in founding the colony was to secure a place of refuge and safety for those of his followers who were exposed to persecution in England, and where they might with absolute freedom maintain their creed and practice their profession; that all acts of the government should be subordinated to carrying out such a scheme, called by its leader "the Holy Experiment," and that any act of government, Imperial or Provincial, which interpreted the Charter in any other way, was repugnant to its spirit, if not to its letter.

The conditions imposed by law on the power of the Legislative Assembly, and to which they all heartily agreed, were that they should not deny liberty of worship to those who differed from them and should not deprive any one of his rights as an Englishman. The Quakers had, of course, the entire control of the legislative body, and they practically determined how far the privilege granted by the Charter extended. In their early legislation here they made, what turned out to be (as Penn had tried in vain to convince them), a serious mistake, and that was by sometimes acting as if this was a Quaker colony exclusively, possessed of certain privileges to which, as refugees and as Quakers, they considered themselves entitled, and to which all the inhabitants must conform; and not, as it really was, in law and in intention, a colony of free-born Englishmen, all of whom were entitled to the privileges granted by the Charter, as well as those common law rights of Englishmen which they had not forfeited by crossing the sea, whether they belonged to the Society of Friends or not. In those days a limited toleration, strictly laid down by a formal statute, was the only one which was recognized by English or Provincial law. The natural right to religious liberty, as it is now called, was not asserted, except by a stray philosopher, until the period of our Revolution. Toleration in that era meant simply an exemption from the penalties which had been imposed upon Dissenters from the Established Church by various statutes which had been enacted since the Reformation.

The utmost limit of that toleration was reached by a statute of the first year of William and Mary, 1689, commonly called "the Toleration Act," which relieved certain Dissenters, including Quakers, who took the Test and made the Declaration against certain Roman Catholic dogmas, from penalties to which at the time they were amenable.

The early legislation here of the Assembly, professed to give a wider or freer toleration than that granted in England by that Act. *Hinc illae lacrymae.*

The English Churchman in this Province, and especially the English clergyman sent here by the Bishop of London, regarded all these pretensions of the Quakers as unfounded, illegal and extravagant. The clergyman when ordered here for duty by the Bishop of London might be a poor missionary, but he was a member of what he called the Established Church in America, and he brought with him, in his opinion, the whole power of that Church, with all the rights and immunities with which it was clothed in England. He had a lofty conception of the inherent dignity of his office. The Bishop of London was his lawful superior, he alone having jurisdiction over him, and in his Church courts alone could he be called upon to account for any offence in which the rights of conscience or his rights as a clergyman were involved. The tenure of his office was life-long; his congregation and his vestry had no control either in choosing or deposing him. With many of the clergy sent to this country, it was a favorite maxim that vestries were useless bodies, and they held to the old-world doctrine that the clergy should be supported by the State; if not directly by tithes, then by setting apart large tracts of land, the income of which should be reserved for their support. In a word, for many years they held that any action of the Provincial government which interfered with their status and privileges here, as members of the Established Church of England, as settled by the statutes of the realm, should be disallowed by the Privy Council; hence the frequent appeals on their part to the Imperial government, asking not merely that such action should be declared illegal and void, but that the Proprietary government should be abolished as incurably bent on setting

aside their privileges, which they claimed as absolute in English law.

With claims such as these, and with the feeling of superiority to their fellow-colonists begotten of those claims, it is not to be wondered at that any act of the Quaker majority of the Assembly, which seemed to dispute their validity, should be severely criticised and opposed by the Episcopal clergy. It is perhaps not too much to say that the Churchmen from the beginning, under the lead of Colonel Quarry, the Judge of Admiralty, and the most conspicuous member of the vestry of Christ Church, were anxious to substitute a Royal for a Proprietary government, but they were ready, before the controversy was closed, to avow that it was their purpose to contend for it. In the meantime a most uncomfortable feeling existed between the parties, and any act of the majority which could be construed to constrain the actions of Churchmen in any way, seemed likely to kindle into a consuming flame the spirit of discord which grew apace with the growth of Christ Church.

But the clergy were not the only complainants; murmurs of dissatisfaction were heard among those of the laity who were not Quakers, that the legislation of the Quaker Provincial Assembly was inconsistant with the Charter and the safety of the Province. No proper preparation, it was alleged, was made to protect the inhabitants against the pirates in Delaware Bay, the French and Indians, the Test Oath was made more indulgent in its terms than had been prescribed by Parliament, and a general disposition, it was said, was shown to govern the Province on Quaker principles, not on those distinctly English.

To those who have looked on William Penn as the apostle of toleration, it seems indeed strange that the very first complaint made by the vestry and congregation of Christ Church against the legislation of the Assembly and

the action of the magistrates under it, was that it violated the civil and religious rights of these Englishmen, inhabitants of the Province, who were not Quakers. Yet such was the charge brought before the Privy Council. Within ten years after the settlement of the Province, George Keith, at one time a most zealous Quaker and a very learned man, but who afterwards became a very active Church missionary, denounced the leaders of his former friends in a manner, which, to put it mildly, constituted the serious offence (as the Quakers considered it and had so declared by a Provincial statue) of "speaking evil of dignities." For this offence Keith was brought before the magistrates (many of whom were members of the Ecclesiastical Meeting, a tribunal which had deposed him from his membership in the Society), and being somewhat bullied by them, he lost his temper and abused his judges in his turn. For this he was nominally condemned to pay a fine, but Churchmen chose to consider his sentence as really that of an apostate, and not merely the punishment meted out to an offender against the statute which prohibited speaking disrespectfully of the government or its officers. His friends, and especially Churchmen, took up his cause with zeal, and as they had no hope of relief from the Provincial government, they went to the root of the matter and sent a petition to the Imperial government, begging it to depose that of the Proprietary. They insisted that Keith had been tried by a tribunal which had no legal authority whatever, the judges never having been qualified for their office by taking either the oath or affirmation then required of all officials by the Imperial government. They insisted, too, that Keith had really been condemned for an ecclesiastical, not for a civil offence, and that thus the rights of non-Quakers were placed in jeopardy. These charges, which accused the authorities of a flagrant usurpation of power,

were formally laid before the Privy Council in England. At the same time it was alleged that the Quakers, owing to their conscientious scruples about war, had taken no measures to protect the shores of Delaware Bay from the incursions of pirates. As William Penn was probably thought by the new sovereigns to be something of a Jacobite, owing to his favor with James II, he was suspended from his government, which was handed over temporarily to Governor Fletcher, of New York. Thus it would appear that the lay element of the Church here, even before the formal organization of Christ Church, was strong enough to induce the English government to revolutionize the administration, mainly on the ground that the rights of non-Quakers were not adequately protected by the action of the Provincial Assembly which the Quaker majority controlled.

It is difficult, I confess, to understand with our present notions of religious liberty, how Churchmen, possessing, as they did, freedom of worship and the absolute control of the property belonging to their Church, could have made any complaint on that score of a violation of the religious rights of those who were non-Quakers. However this may be, it was evident that the Provincial Assembly did not learn wisdom from experience. In 1698, after the Proprietary government had been restored, the magistrates continued their prosecutions against those who attacked the Provincial government, and their opponents asked that the King should take them under his special care. A petition to the Crown requesting that such a change should be made was denounced by the Provincial magistrates as seditious, and its supposed author was arrested and condemned for violating the statue making it a penal offence to speak disrespectfully of the government and its officers. To this was added by the non-Quakers a protest against a statute passed in 1700, substituting a new form of test in

the room of that which had heretofore been in force by virtue of the Toleration Act, by which the Quakers here were granted a toleration which did not exist in England. All these measures were protested against by the vestry of Christ Church as an invasion of what they called their religious rights as members of the Church of England. They sent a second time a petition to the Privy Council by Colonel Quarry, asking that some remedy for their grievances should be found. So great was the influence of this then feeble church with the Imperial authorities, that they were again led to interpose, and orders were sent out here in 1702 requiring that hereafter all persons who wished to celebrate their worship publicly or to hold any office under the Provincial government without exposing themselves to the law against non-conformity, should be obliged to make a declaration of fidelity and allegiance to the sovereign and to take the Test; that is, make a declaration of their disbelief in certain Roman Catholic Dogmas in the exact form provided by the English Toleration Act. There was at first considerable hesitation here in taking this Test, not that there was any objection to the doctrines it avowed, but the objections were as to the form of the affirmation required. The Assembly was induced in 1705, by what influence I have never been able clearly to understand, to embody in a statute provisions requiring all persons in the Province to qualify themselves for taking any office by taking and subscribing the Test and affirming their belief in the Declaration as an indispensable qualification before assuming its duties. This Act, which is simply a copy of that portion of the English Toleration Act, which granted exemption from any penalty upon certain classes of Dissenters from the Established Church, remained in force up to the time of the Revolution, and it seems to have settled the vexed question how far any one could go astray from the orthodoxy

required by the Imperial government and yet hold office, by pleading that another standard had been set up by the Assembly of the Province. The policy which provided that these Tests should prevail in Pennsylvania was in strict imitation of the widest form of toleration then known in England. If we wish to trace the influence of Christ Church on the lay element during the Provincial era, not only here but in England, we cannot do better than consider carefully the part that she took in this otherwise profitless controversy, and for that reason I have called attention to these long-forgotten quarrels. I have alluded to them here only because they jeopardized the existence of the Proprietary government.

At this time (1704) the congregation consisted of about five hundred members, and the number of persons in the Province who were Episcopalians was constantly increasing. Mission churches were established at Chester, Oxford, Radnor, New Castle and Dover, which were served by clergymen sent out by the Venerable Society. And as they secured a firmer footing in the Province, the fear which had oppressed the earliest members of the Church that they would perish from their own weakness, gave way to a more hopeful spirit. Still, as late as 1718, the friends of the Church, both here and in England, endeavored to persuade Sir William Keith, the most popular of the Proprietary Governors, and the one least inclined to stretch his prerogative, to make an effort to secure permanent legal support for the Church. His answer tells the whole story in a single sentence. "I agree with you," he says, "that the Church should be endowed by the Province, but what can I do for such an object with an Assembly composed of twenty-five Quakers and three Churchmen."

As time passed on the controversial spirit became less bitter, and indeed differences of opinion grew less marked

as people knew each other better. Churchmen became less exclusive and welcomed here in this church the ministrations of the Swedish clergymen who then had charge of the Swedish mission here. For many years the services of the Church were in charge at different times of Rudman, Sandel, Lidman, Hesselius and Lindenius, who were recognized as in full communion with the Church of England, although they had been ordained by the Archbishop of Upsal and not by the English Bishops. As one remarkable result of this fraternal spirit, and as illustrating how the influence of this church extended beyond its borders, I may remind you that four churches originally Swedish in this State, one in Delaware and one in New Jersey, became, at different times, by the almost unanimous vote of their congregations, constituent members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

In speaking of the influence of the members of this congregation on public affairs during the Provincial era, I must not forget to claim for some of them the great honor of having been the founders and the early guardians of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Dr. Franklin, who first conceived the plan of this establishment, and sought with characteristic vigor to organize it by securing money for its endowment and selecting its professors, was a pew-holder in this church, although he disclaimed any intention of making the College a Church institution. He preferred that in a Province such as this it should rest upon what was called in those days the "broad bottom," that is, that it should be independent of the control of any church or denomination. But when he looked around for those who would appreciate and support his project, he was obliged to take from this congregation mainly the men of education and of means who would aid him. His first

choice for rector or head master of the Academy was the Rev. Richard Peters, one of the most scholarly men in the Province, who had long held the important place of Secretary of the Land Office and afterwards for nearly ten years was the Rector of Christ Church. Finding it impossible to induce Mr. Peters to accept the place, he made the final choice of Rev. William Smith, a man of indomitable energy, of very considerable learning and of great organizing power. Mr. Smith was an Episcopal clergyman of high reputation, and, as far as a man in his position could be, he was a member of this congregation. He gave life and vigor to the skeleton plan which Dr. Franklin had sketched out. His experience as a teacher and his various learning led him afterwards into paths where Dr. Franklin could not follow him, yet his scheme of college education, in accordance with the universal judgment of scholars for more than a hundred years, formed the true model for the liberal training of young men in this country. He induced the trustees of the Academy, shortly after his induction, to solicit from the Proprietaries a charter for a college, and, this obtained, he established as a means of instruction in this institution a *curriculum* of studies which formed the basis of the system afterwards adopted by every college in this country professing to give a liberal training to young men. The result of the life and vigor which he had infused into the college which he had created, was, in the opinion of the late Dr. George Wood, such, that in a short time this college, founded by two of your members, "was perhaps unrivalled and certainly not surpassed by any seminary at that time existing in the Provinces." And, I may add, that had it escaped from the mischievous designs of unscrupulous politicians during the Revolution, and had its affairs since that era always been managed with the same self-sacrificing devotion and fidelity to its

interests exhibited by its trustees before that change, it would doubtless to-day occupy the same proud pre-eminence. Of the trustees previous to the Revolution nearly four-fifths were members of this congregation; and this was the period when its work was most active and the demands on their enlightened care incessant. Mr. Peters, the rector of the church, was for many years the president of the board, and the trustees, agreeing with Dr. Smith as to the plan of education which had been adopted, and disagreeing wholly, much to his chagrin, with that urged by Dr. Franklin, supported fully their Provost, not only in all his efforts for the promotion of higher education here, but in all the various trials and difficulties into which his eager and impetuous temper led him. Dr. Smith was a strict Churchman for those days, as were doubtless the majority of the trustees of the college, but they ever maintained its original design by selecting as its professors men who represented the various denominations in the city. One of the more immediate good results of the establishment of this college was the training of men who occupied a prominent position as ministers of Christ Church at the outbreak of the Revolution. William White, Jacob Duché and Thomas Coombe were all graduates of the College of Philadelphia and received their training from Dr. Smith.

Between the years 1740 and 1756 there was perpetual fear of war and an invasion of this Province by the Indians and French, who had formed what was intended to be a permanent alliance, and had established themselves on the line between Pittsburgh and Lake Erie. The object of the invasion on the part of the French was supposed by many, who thought themselves wise, to be part of a systematic scheme to subjugate the English colonists on the borders of the Atlantic in this and other provinces; to make them

dependencies of France, and, worse than all, to force, by persecution, the inhabitants to become Roman Catholics. However chimerical all these fears may appear to us now, there is no doubt of the reality of the anxiety and apprehension which they excited at the time. To the intensity of the desire to make some adequate military preparation to defend themselves, was added the natural dread of contending with such a nation as France, when no means of defence had been made ready, as well as a special horror of the practices of the savage and inhuman warfare of the Indians. Those who had now combined against us were the descendants of those whom William Penn on his arrival had found so friendly—the Delawares and the Shawnees—who had been made desperate by the cruel and fraudulent appropriation of their lands by his successors. Gentle as lambs when the white man first came among them, they had become fiends now, as all the accounts of their cruel massacres of the inhabitants clearly showed. The settlers in the territory exposed to these ravages called loudly upon the government for protection and succor. Although the deepest sympathy was expressed on all hands for their unfortunate condition, no troops were sent to defend them, owing to the quarrel between the Governor and the Assembly as to the best mode by which the soldiers and the money for their support should be raised. The Governor, to state the nature of the controversy in a single sentence, urged that a Militia Bill, which should enroll as many of the able-bodied men of the Province as might be needed, should be passed, and that a tax should be levied for their pay and equipment, from which the immense private estates of the Proprietaries should be exempted; while the Assembly contended that the necessary force should be raised by a voluntary enlistment, and that loans should be issued to raise money, to be reim-

bursed by general taxation, for the maintenance of the troops. For many years this wearisome and profitless struggle continued and nothing was done in the way of defence of the frontier or to avert the threatened danger of invasion. The Governor and the Proprietary party insisted that the refusal to adopt his suggestions was owing to conscientious scruples on the part of the Quakers about making war, but so untrue was this charge that the Assembly, goaded into action by Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, consented at last to exempt the estates of the Proprietaries from taxation, in consideration of a gift by them to the Province of five thousand pounds, and established a chain of forts from the Delaware to the Maryland frontier along the Alleghany Mountains, garrisoned by a body of volunteers, Provincial troops, who for a long time effectually guarded the threatened districts. In this controversy the larger number of the members of this congregation sided with the Proprietary party, having convinced themselves that no Assembly in which the Quakers had a majority of the votes would, under any circumstances, adopt warlike measures. They went so far on this account as to join with the Presbyterians, who had suffered most severely from the Indian raids after Braddock's defeat, in a petition to the Crown, being the third time in which they had made the same application, asking that Quakers should not be permitted hereafter to sit as members of the Assembly. Their action must be attributed to a deep-rooted delusion on the subject, which then prevailed here, and which perhaps the professed principles of the Quakers had done much to foster, and to the natural anxiety which they felt to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of a neglect of the safety of the Province.

But during the years of danger which threatened their safety, when the accounts from the West told of little but

of Indian outrages and French victories and marches eastward, the conduct of this congregation was marked by a manliness and courage and readiness to make sacrifices for the safety of the Province, worthy of all praise as an example, and to which those who succeed them here may point with becoming pride. They were taught from this pulpit the Christian duty of warfare in defending themselves. Dr. Smith tells us that in this crisis he preached here no less than eight "military sermons," as he calls them; and we may be quiet sure that in them the duty of defending their lives and their homes from a French and Indian invasion was duly inculcated. We may be also certain, from what we know of the membership of Christ Church at that time, that the men on whom the Governor most fully depended at that critical time for the safety of the Province were to be found among those who gathered here to worship God. The military spirit which prevailed in the congregation was so marked that, in 1758, at the opening of the campaign of that year General Forbes, commander of the army in this Province, could find no better means of rousing the military ardor of the inhabitants than by asking Dr. Smith to denounce here once more the horrible cruelties which his army was sent to avenge.

During the eventful years (1740-1756) in which the Province was forced to defend itself from the incursions of the Indians to the westward, none of the inhabitants who formed social organizations were more zealous and steady in upholding the hands of those to whom were committed the safety, honor and welfare of the people of this Province, than the members of this congregation. Opinions might differ, and doubtless often did, among them in regard to the righteousness of the conduct of the agents of the government in their treatment of the Indians, but when

these savages determined to wreak their vengeance by an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, the law which Churchmen invoked was that of self-defence. At that time the members of Christ Church succored the distressed inhabitants west of the Susquehanna by timely gifts, and they urged the immediate necessity of raising money and men to protect them, profiting by the lessons which they had learned, as I have stated, from this pulpit as to the clear duty of the citizens and the Christian. At that time the special interest which the members of this church could feel as Episcopalians in the sufferings of those exposed to Indian assaults was centered in a feeble mission of the Venerable Society, of which the headquarters were at Carlisle. But the sympathy exhibited by them in this city for the victims of savage cruelty was not bounded by any such narrow frontier. Judging from the names attached to a petition to the Crown in 1756, praying that hereafter no non-resistant Quaker should be permitted to hold a seat in the Assembly, the members of this congregation were the most determined of those who were willing to undergo any revolutionary change in government which would guarantee that the white population of the Province should be duly protected.

There were many officers, members and pew-holders in Christ Church in the regiments raised by the government of the Province for service during the French and Indian wars. General James Irvine, who was a prominent member of this congregation, and is traditionally remembered from his always appearing clad in mourning on Good Friday, began his military career as an officer in Bouquet's expedition for the recapture of Fort Duquesne, and was during the Revolution an officer of high rank in the Pennsylvania line. Among others, we find the well-known names of Colonels Thomas Lawrence, Edward

Jones and Turbutt Francis; of Lieut.-Colonels Thomas Yorke and James Coultas; of Major Samuel McCall; of Captain Thomas Bond; of Lieutenants Lynford Lardner, William Bingham, Atwood Shute, James Claypoole and Plunket Fleeson.

It is not to be forgotten that the social position of many of the members of this Parish (the united churches of Christ and St. Peter's) gave them an influence out of all proportion with their numbers. It is true, of course, that in the Provincial era the laymen of this church were, generally speaking, of the Proprietary party, and had supported the war measures of that party; but when they found that the government of the Province had become that of a deputy, without whose consent no legislation could be enacted, and who was bound in his acts to obey the instructions of the Proprietaries in England, and who was in no way responsible to the people of the Province for them, they joined with other parties in the Assembly in unanimously declaring, in 1763, that pretensions such as these were as dangerous to the prerogative of the Crown as they were to the liberties of the people. Proprietary men as they were supposed to be, they had no hesitation in praying the King, for the fourth time, with Dr. Franklin, in 1764, that he would resume the government of the Province and that the Proprietary system should be abolished.

The signs of the times became more portentous after the enactment of the Stamp Act of 1765, and it soon became apparent that there would be as much opposition here on the part of Churchmen to Imperial misgovernment, as there had been to the arbitrary pretensions of the Governors. Indeed, it is hardly worth proving that during these perilous times all classes of people in Pennsylvania, resistants and non-resistants alike, protested against the Minis-

terial measures. The members of this congregation, in common with their fellow-citizens of other beliefs, remonstrated against the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, as well as against the Boston Port Bill and other measures intended to punish the town of Boston; they all signed the Non-importation and the Non-exportation Agreements; they all petitioned the Crown to guarantee the right of self-government; they determined to maintain the fundamental rights of the colonies; they warned the Ministry that armed resistance would be made to further encroachments, and they did not hesitate to vote for raising men and money for the defence of the Province after the battle of Lexington. Yet, with all this, they never ceased to hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be made, and that no violent separation from the Mother Country would take place. As the crisis of the Revolution approached, the opinions held by the congregation as to the course they would take, are best expressed in the letter of their clergy to the Bishop of London. In this letter, dated June 30, 1775, the clergy of this parish, Messrs. Richard Peters, Jacob Duché, Thomas Coombe, William Stringer and William White, join with Dr. Smith, the Provost of the College, in saying to the Bishop of London, "All that we can do is to pray for such a settlement and to pursue those principles of moderation and reason which your Lordship has always recommended to us. We have neither interest nor consequence sufficient to take any great lead in the affairs of this great country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what they think would be a slavish resignation of their rights, it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are ministers. But it is but justice to our

superiors, and to your Lordship in particular, to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed, could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say that our consciences would not permit us to injure the rights of the country. We are to leave our families in it, and cannot but consider its inhabitants entitled, as well as their brethren in England, to the right of granting their own money; and that every attempt to deprive them of this right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the benefits to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant prayer, in which we are sure that your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both countries may be directed towards a plan of reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great nation that have long been the patrons of freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a people sprung from them and by birth claiming a participation in their rights."

The sentiments frankly expressed in this letter were not merely those of the clergy of Christ Church, but voiced doubtless the opinion of its lay members, as well as that of a large circle of friends not of their religious faith, but within the sphere of their influence. In a community such as Philadelphia then was, it is not easy to overestimate the power derived from the common opinion on a momentous question of its foremost citizens. Men like William Bingham, Richard Bache, Benjamin Chew, John Cadwalader, Gerardus Clarkson, Redmond Conyngham, Manuel Eyre, Michael Hillegas, Archibald McCall, Charles Meredith, Edmund Physick, William Plumstead, Samuel Powel, Edward Shippen, Richard and Thomas Willing, never speak in vain. These are names as familiar to those who have passed a long life in Philadelphia as household

words, and those who bore them were all members of the congregation of Christ Church. This letter to the Bishop of London doubtless reveals that feeling of mingled defiance and dread with which they viewed the approach of the Revolution.

Of these clergymen of the Church here, it may be said that Messrs. White and Duché became afterwards chaplains of the Continental Congress, and that Dr. Smith urged, in a powerful sermon delivered before Colonel Cadwalader's regiment of Volunteer Associators in this church, the right and duty of armed resistance if the grievances complained of were not redressed. At that time (the early period of the Revolution) it is hardly necessary to say that there was no question of independence, for no public man in Pennsylvania, within or without Christ Church, had advocated such a measure. When the time arrived when it was thought necessary by Congress to proclaim our independence, no less than three of the signers of that immortal instrument, Franklin, Robert Morris and Hopkinson, were found to be pew-holders in this church. And on the very day on which that great charter of a new nation was signed, it was agreed by the vestry and clergy of this church that the long-familiar prayer for the King and the Royal Family should thenceforth be omitted from the service. In short, in no quarter was the action of the Assembly of the State and of Congress dissolving our allegiance to Great Britain more loyally obeyed than in this church, to which kings and queens in happier days had been loving nursing fathers and nursing mothers.

With the close of the Revolution that direct and peculiar influence of Christ Church upon the lay element in Philadelphia, which, during the provincial era, had been so characteristic a feature of its corporate life, in a great measure ceased. Whether this was due to changes which

then brought into power men of a very different social position and very different political ideas from those who had governed this community in former days, I will not stop to inquire. Whatever may have been the cause, there can be no doubt in the mind of any student of our history that Quakers and Episcopalians, the foremost citizens of the Province, however faithful they may have been to the changes produced by the Revolution, lost their prestige and political leadership in the Commonwealth created by it.

Thenceforth Christ Church entered upon a new era, and devoted herself to the propagation exclusively of that special form of Christianity of which she had been the recognized representative here. Under the guidance of that wise, discreet, revered and saintly man who was then her Rector and was soon afterwards to become the chief pastor of this diocese, she became in a very important sense *omnium ecclesiarum mater et caput.*

Bishop White, I need not say, was not only a great Churchman, but he was a great citizen also. From the stormy days of the Revolution, when he taught Congress that resistance to oppression is a religious duty; from the day in which in his study in St. Peter's house in this city he outlined a plan for the federal union of the Church, down to the day when he was laid at rest under the chancel of this church, the great work of his life was, so to speak, the naturalization of the order and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church under its new conditions in this country. What measure of success attended his efforts it is not my province to speak of, but I may venture to affirm that the Church in this country can never be too grateful for what she owes to his wisdom and sagacity. He is the great link which binds the past to the present. He was the champion of all that is true and noble and inspiring in the history of that form of Christianity of

which he was here the chief minister; and to no wiser hands could the great task of adapting that historical and venerable form of ecclesiastical polity to our present need have been confided than to his.

I count it as one of the happiest recollections of my youth that I should have been permitted to see Bishop White in the last year of his life, not robed in his canonical vestments nor surrounded by those things calculated to impress a boyish imagination with the dignity of his position, but walking these streets in the ordinary dress of a clergyman of that day. His tall, spare figure, his costume, that of a gentleman of the old school, the broad-brimmed hat which half concealed his flowing white locks, his ample coat, his short clothes, his long stockings and buckled shoes, and his stout walking staff—all these things made him truly venerable in my eyes and produced an impression which the lapse of sixty years has not removed. As he passed along, supported on the arm of his grandson, I remember that I looked upon him, as I had ever been taught to regard him, as the last of the Revolutionary patriots. To those who met him and knew anything of his history and character, he was the type and exemplar of that pure and lofty doctrine which he had preached all his life. His perfect sincerity, his genuine simplicity, his boundless charity of act and opinion towards those who differed from him, caused him to be recognized, as was well said by a distinguished divine of another communion than his, as "truly the Bishop of us all."

With such a history and with such personages serving as illustrations of it, Christ Church is not merely a temple where men have met during the last two hundred years to worship God after the manner of their fathers, but it is also one of the brightest jewels in the mural crown of this

goodly city. Here men have been taught during all that long period, not merely their duty to God, but also to consecrate the service of their lives to the welfare of their fellow-men, and especially to that of our own community and Commonwealth. As we recall the names of its members who, in times past, amidst trials and obstacles of all sorts, have done their duty, while doing the State some service, may we emulate their example, never failing to heed the voice of God and our country when it calls upon us for work and self-sacrifice.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20th.

The Rector celebrated the Holy Eucharist at 11 A.M. In the evening a festival *Te Deum* was sung, and a musical service rendered by the vested choir of Christ Church Chapel, under the direction of the choir-master of the chapel, Mr. J. Spencer Brock. An address was delivered by the Rt. Rev. Leighton Coleman, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Delaware.

ADDRESS BY RT. REV. BISHOP COLEMAN.

Hardly any saying is more generally accepted than this one: "Truth is stranger than fiction." There is no romance that can, for a moment, be compared as to real interest with simple history. Actual life has a sufficiency of the most startling events to satisfy any craving that is not totally awry.

To some of us there is no branch of history which has about it the same attractive features that belong to what is

known as *Church* history. Of necessity, it contains those elements which most appeal to our highest tastes and purest passions. Its study is also replete with lessons of the greatest profit. Covering now a period of nineteen centuries, and extending to so many parts of the world, its characters and events have relations to almost every interest that is universal and permanent.

This is eminently true of that portion of ecclesiastical history which is connected with our own country. One may safely say, speaking generally, that America was originally colonized by the Church. I do not mean that the Church as such undertook or supervised this work. But it was largely done under her auspices.

The charters, by right of which the chiefest settlements were made, bear evidence uniformly of the religious objects which they had in view, and the religion therein professed was that of the English Church. Thus the early history of what we now call the United States is contemporaneous with our own Church history.

In the charter granted in 1681 by Charles II, provision was made for the introduction of the Church's ministrations into William Penn's colony. It is said that this provision was inserted at the instance of Bishop Compton, of London, who obtained for it the ready acquiescence of one whose family largely belonged to the Church. Chalmers asserts that the peaceful policy which Penn pursued toward the Indians was not a little due to the advice given him by this same prelate.

His own kindly feelings toward the Church were not shared by many of those belonging to the Society of Friends. On the contrary these were very malignant, and persisted in their persecutions, summoning before the civil courts such Churchmen as dared to petition the authorities at home for clergymen.

This bitter opposition somewhat delayed the accomplishment of plans already formed, and it was not until nearly the close of the seventeenth century that we have any records of the establishment of regular Church services in the city of Philadelphia.

And these records have to do with this venerable parish which is now celebrating its bi-centennial. For it was in the year 1695 that the first Christ Church was erected. The Rev. Dr. Dorr, in his valuable history of the parish, describes it as a goodly structure "for those days." He furthermore describes it as of brick, with galleries, and having accommodations for more than 500 persons.[1] Its cost was about £600.

It is difficult to do what seems imperative upon me at a time like this—namely, to pursue the history of this parish—without repeating what has already been told here upon many an interesting occasion. It is, unquestionably, a tempting theme; for, as Dr. Dorr observes in the very outset of his introduction: "there is no building in our city, and it may be doubted whether there is any in our country, around which so many hallowed associations cluster, and which calls up so many time-honored and holy reminiscences" as this very structure. In a certain way it is, indeed, the Mother Church of the whole American Church.[2]

It stands a most impressive witness to the eventful history of this branch of the Catholic Church—a history not without its periods of depression, but, so soon as the Church was fully organized, showing everywhere signs of wholesome progress and growth. When this building was first

[1] See p. 25. By reference to p. 14, it may be inferred that the building was by no means so spacious as it is here represented to be; there being only forty-two pews when enlarged in 1711.

[2] See Bishop Stevens' Discourse of July 4, 1876, p. 4.

erected, Philadelphia had scarcely more than five thousand inhabitants. There was but one minister of the Church in the city. A great many of the younger people who were afraid of displeasing their parents or employers by attending the services in the daytime were obliged to listen to them while standing under the windows at night.

In a letter addressed, under date of January 18, 1696–97, to Gov. Nicholson by Col. Quarry and others, it is declared that a great number of people conformed to Quakerism only for want of other religious services; and, further, that "the late great distractions and divisions amongst the Quakers, and the many notorious, wicked and damnable principles and doctrines discovered to be amongst the greatest part of them, this makes the rest very uneasy and inquisitive after truth and the sound doctrine of the Church of England, which makes us positively (*sic*) assert that a pious, good and orthodox ministry would bring most of them over to the Church."

There seems to be but little reason to doubt that in general the ministry provided in those days answered well to the description of the petitioners. And that their enthusiastic prophecy was none too sanguine may be inferred from the fact that the Rev. George Keith, himself a distinguished convert from the Friends, baptized not less than seven hundred members of that society in a comparatively short period of time.

It is difficult for any one to imagine what might have been the total result if there had been more clergymen in the field, or the Church had been equipped with the means (especially bishops) whereby this lack could have been supplied. Even as late as the period of Bishop White's incumbency here as Rector, in the latter half of the century following that of which we are now more particularly treating, he was the only clergyman in the whole Common-

wealth of Pennsylvania; and when he was chosen, in 1786, bishop of the diocese, there were but three clergymen present and voting.

It can easily be seen how, amidst such general insufficiency, Christ Church filled a very important place in this city and diocese. The clergy and the vestry appear to have been equally in earnest in their endeavors to discharge the responsibilities thus resting upon them. In doing so, they pursued no narrow policy. When it became evident that a new church was needed in what was then called the southern part of the city, they set about the erection of St. Peter's Church. And later, when a similar want for the western part of the city was seriously felt, they undertook the building of what was named St. James' Church, in Seventh Street above Market.

The duties of the sextons of these churches do not seem to have been any more onerous than were their stipends enriching. In 1761 the sexton of Christ Church applied for an increase of salary. The vestry agreed to give him £20 per year, on condition that he wash the church twice a year, and sand it at Easter and September, and also sweep the church every two weeks, and ring the bell.

There was the same trouble in raising by ordinary means the necessary funds for Church purposes that parishes in more modern days have encountered. Twice resort was had (under, it would seem, the guidance chiefly of Benjamin Franklin) to lotteries for the money required to erect the graceful spire which has always been one of Philadelphia's most noted landmarks. The true appreciation of what is involved in systematic offerings was wanting then, as alas! it is still with many who might naturally enough be expected to have it. We read, under the date of 1763, of a certain lady, who not being willing to be called upon in the box collections—made in the church on Sundays—

chose rather to pay yearly the sum of $3 for the purposes of such collections.

On special occasions the congregation was not wanting in generosity. When in this same year of 1763 the frontier or back inhabitants, as they were styled, were suffering great distress and necessity by reason of an invasion by the Indians, the members of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's contributed to their relief over £660, besides a liberal supply of provisions.

The matter of Church music has always received much attention at the hands of the parochial authorities. In the early part of 1763, provision was made for the erection of an organ in St. Peter's Church, and in the latter part of the same year steps were taken to procure one for Christ Church. The children of the united congregations had for some time been, as the records express it, "improved in the art of psalmody." Mr. William Young and Mr. Francis Hopkinson are mentioned as having taken great and constant pains in instructing them, and are especially thanked by the vestry, who encouraged those engaged in the work by frequently attending the rehearsals. The Mr. Hopkinson here named was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was also a distinguished jurist and poet. For a while, during the absence of the regular organist, he served in that capacity.

In this same connection, it may not be amiss to say something in regard to the introduction of surpliced choirs into America. The first mention of them of which I have any knowledge is found in the records of St. Michael's Church, Charleston, S. C. In 1798 a bill was passed by the vestry for washing the surplices "of clergy and children." In 1816 a parishioner of Christ Church, Philadelphia, left by will a share in the Bank of Pennsylvania of the value of $400, in trust, as the nucleus of a fund "for teaching six

boys as a choir to sing in the orchestra," as it is expressed. Whether or not these boys were surpliced I have no means at the time of my present writing of learning.

The authorities of the parish were early mindful of the advantages of what is known as "congregational singing;" for we find that in 1785 the following resolution was passed at a vestry meeting, viz.:

"*Resolved*, That the clerks be desired to sing such tunes only as are plain and familiar to the congregations; the singing of other tunes, and frequent changing of tunes being, to the certain knowledge of this vestry, generally disagreeable and inconvenient."

Dr. Dorr well calls it "a wholesome resolution."

It might well have been recommended to other parishes. Having been privileged to serve as the leader of the choir in one of Philadelphia's churches, I can testify to the great variety in tunes and chants that prevailed say thirty or forty years ago, when it seemed to be the chief desire on the part of most musicians to have as many changes as possible. If the *Gloria Patri* were repeated between the Psalms, it was never chanted twice to the same music. What with the *Cantus Ecclesiæ*, the *Carmina Sacra*, *The Shawm*, *The Church Choir*, *et id omne genus*, it required the amplest sort of closets to contain, and the greater time of one during the service to find the places in, such a vast library of separate volumes.

What a change for the better has been wrought in these latter days, and what an amount of prejudice and trepidation has been allayed! When it was first proposed to chant the *Venite*, the proposition was resisted in some of our larger parishes as something bordering on the Church of Rome. The same dread was exhibited when it was suggested that the *Te Deum* should be rendered musically every Sunday: that hymn being always read, except on

what was then known as "Communion Sunday" (the first of the month) and the greater festivals. Except on some such occasions, the *Gloria Patri* was then used only at the end of each day's Psalms. Thank God! owing to a greater appreciation of the obligations and privileges of Church membership, every Lord's Day now is almost universally known by the celebration of His own blessed Feast!

There are many other features of your parochial history which I myself would find very interesting to rehearse and discuss, but I forbear to do so for reasons already adduced. The relations of this sacred edifice to the events which preceded and followed the Declaration of Independence are too well known to find a place in this present discourse. The same may be said of its associations with the earlier history of our national Church, and with such Churchmen and patriots as White and Washington and Hopkinson and Morris and Franklin. And yet when we recall the unjust aspersions not infrequently cast upon the patriotism of our ecclesiastical forefathers, it may be well for us at such a time as this to recall the distinguished services rendered to both Church and State by many of those who worshipped here.

The effort is frequently made to persuade the American people that this Church of ours was inimical to the struggle for national independence. While for conscientious reasons there were clergymen and laymen who, at the outset particularly, were opposed to the separation of the Colonies from the Motherland, it is but just to remember that George Mason, a Churchman, wrote the Declaration of Rights, which formed the basis for the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, another Churchman. Not less than two-thirds of all the signers of the latter declaration were Churchmen, and the same statement may be made concerning those who framed the first national constitution.

I am very glad that, under the enthusiastic leadership of your energetic Rector, Christ Church has become more and more the recognized centre for religious observances that are connected with our national history. This bi-centennial commemoration affords a convenient opportunity of witnessing to the blessings which have for so many generations found—humanly speaking—their mainspring here, and of expressing one's hearty desire that such blessings may continue hence to flow in steady course through the ages that are yet to come.

The very position which this church-building occupies confers upon it a special duty and privilege of no mean significance. Standing as it does in the midst of the commercial thoroughfares of this great city, it testifies in itself to the sovereignty of Him Whose are the silver and the gold, reminding men as they go up and down within its shadow that, while they are not to be slothful in business, they are yet to be "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." The sight of it, and the sound of its ancient bells must surely have their influence, and serve at times to admonish those who sell and buy among the many marts surrounding it of those maxims of equity and honesty which should govern them in their daily trade.

Among the weakening changes resulting from the many removals to distant portions of the city, this church has yet a wide field for usefulness. It must ever be an ecclesiastical centre of singular importance; and we look forward confidently to its future annals as to those which shall record much additional and fruitful work for God and His Church.

In your history Delaware must always feel an especial interest; not only because we are such near neighbors, but also because, while we were still reckoned as "The Three Lower Counties of Pennsylvania," and even when we had

achieved our State independence, we received the blessing that came from the occasional visits and the temporary oversight of your sainted Rector, Bishop White. And so in your commemorative services this year we may ask the place of kindred. Certain it is, we offer you our hearty congratulations and the assurance of our equally hearty prayers.

You will, I am sure, permit me, in the same spirit of affectionate interest, to remind you how your parish is in an especial way a city set upon a hill, whose light is to go into many a darksome place. Think what might have been your own condition had not your ancestors left you the priceless legacy of the Christian faith. Think of the wretched condition of such as are to-day without such knowledge. It was, and still is, a mystery indeed, that was manifested to the Gentiles—long hidden in the counsels of God—that we should be "fellow heirs and of the same body and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel." But it was a manifestation that shed a new and wondrous light upon all human life, and made those to whom it was revealed to rejoice and praise God as men had never done before: a light of cheerful hope and anticipation, the dawning of a better day, in which the kingdom of darkness should fail beforethe kingdom of Christ and of holiness, and the good news of His coming should go out into all the world.

We do not as yet see this gracious purpose fulfilled, even in nominally Christian lands. Therefore, it is that to-day we ought especially to think ourselves bound to help by personal service and by every other legitimate agency in the diffusion of the Gospel and the advance of the kingdom of our Lord.

By reason of the historical review in which we have

indulged this evening, we should be the more moved to earnestness in the cause. With all our fair speeches on the subject, we do not sufficiently appreciate how much we owe to the past. The very creed which we utter now with so much confidence was forged and framed by men who, after years of heroic experience, had reached its truth under the Spirit's guidance through the rich stores which the past had bequeathed to them. What a debt we owe to them, who did not think of this rich continent as a place merely to plunder, but a place to be evangelized with the precious doctrines of that same old creed! What a debt, too, we owe to them who built us churches, established our kindly institutions, and adorned the land with their godly lives.

After all, brethren, the good life is not the lonely contest we sometimes are disposed to think it; not the anxious struggling through dangerous waves to the unknown shore on a lonely plank, saved as by a miracle out of a full ship. We believe in the communion of saints. And so to-day we reverently and gratefully remember those servants of God into whose labors we have so happily entered. We can almost see with our bodily eyes the cloud of witnesses who have worshipped in this very sanctuary. We ourselves are moving onward, consciously or unconsciously, fashioned largely by the influence of many lives; and, in turn, affecting largely the character of many other lives.

The Church, not as she was two hundred years ago, despised or simply tolerated, but honored and strong, is now recognized everywhere as one of the chief factors in the prosperity of every community. Her remarkable growth during the latter part of the present century is only what might have been anticipated when her unassailable claims should come to be fairly studied by our intelligent fellow

countrymen.[1] Intrenched in their confidence, and well equipped as she is with what is required for the larger work to which our vast Republic is calling her, the outlook for the rapidly coming century is one of hopeful inspiration. We cannot but envy those who shall, at its close, be privileged to recount what may then be reckoned among her achievements. I know of no branch of the Catholic Church that has ever had a wider opportunity of manifesting the great truths which the incarnation of Christ has brought to light. May you in this parish, and all her members everywhere, be faithful to the high trust committed to us; making our daily lives a very Epiphany of the Gospel which has done such great things for us; the Day Star from on high visiting our hearts by His Spirit, and guiding our erring feet into the way of eternal peace!

[1]It may not be amiss to add a few statistics in this connection:

In 1844, the number of communicants of the Church was about 60,000. The whole population was about 6,000,000. The ratio of communicants to the population was then as 1 is to 300.

In 1894, the number of our communicants was about 600,000. The whole population was about 65,000,000 The ratio of the one to the other was as 1 is to 108. In fifty years, the population increased 260 per cent, while the communicants increased 900 per cent.

In 1832 there were 592 clergymen, including 15 bishops. In 1896, there were not less than 4500 clergymen, including 86 bishops.

Should the same rate of gain be accelerated during the next four years as it has been in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it will not be long before we can, without challenge, speak of our ecclesiastical mother as indeed, THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21st.

The day was ushered in with an early Eucharistic celebration. At night a service was held under the auspices of Christ Church Historical Association. The church was crowded with persons from all over the Diocese. Two processions entered the church in succession, and took seats specially reserved. The first was composed of the Vestries of Christ Church, St. Peter's Church and St. James' Church, and the managers of Christ Church Chapel, and of Christ Church Hospital, together with lay members of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, trustees of the various diocesan institutions, and Mr. Charles C. Harrison, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the latter wearing his official robes. The second procession was composed of about seventy vested clergy of the Diocese of Pennsylvania and other dioceses, including the Ven. C. C. Tiffany, D.D., Archdeacon of New York, the Rev. Benjamin Watson, D.D., President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese; clerical representatives of all the diocesan institutions; the rectors of St. Peter's and St. James' Churches, and of all the principal churches of the city, the Rector of Gloria Dei Church, which from colonial days has been associated with Christ Church; the Rev. Edward Riggs, Assistant Minister of Christ Church in charge of Christ Church Chapel; the Rev. E. Gaines Nock, Rector's Assistant of Christ Church; the Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, LL.D., D.C.L., Rector of the parish; the Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Iowa, and Historiographer of the Church in the United States; the Rt. Rev. Lemuel Henry Wells, D.D., Bishop of Spokane; the Rt. Rev. Francis Key Brooke, D.D., Bishop of Oklahoma; the Rt. Rev. Frederick Rodgers Graves, D.D.,

Missionary Bishop of Shanghai, China; and, bringing up the rear of the procession, the Rt. Rev. Ozi William Whitaker, D.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania.

The choir was augmented for the occasion by the addition of members from the choir of Christ Church Chapel. The Bishop of Pennsylvania presided, and delivered an address on "Christ Church and the Diocese of Pennsylvania." The Rev. J. Lewis Parks, D.D., Rector of St. Peter's Church, delivered an address on "Christ Church and the Daughter Churches." The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Iowa, spoke on "Christ Church and the National Church." The addresses follow:

ADDRESS OF BISHOP WHITAKER.

I have been asked to say a few words concerning "Christ Church and the Diocese of Pennsylvania." No other church in the United States, perhaps no other church in the history of the world, has ever had so intimate a connection with the Diocese which grew up around it,—certainly if compared with a Diocese of equal territorial extent,—as Christ Church has had to do with the foundation, the early growth and the development of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Its formal connection with that Diocese began, of course, in 1785, when the organization of the Diocese took effect; but it had to do with its early history; from the very beginning it was a force operating throughout this region. It was an influence preparing the way for the Diocese which was to come. It was an encouragement in the establishment of missions and parishes; it was a beacon light guiding by its wisdom the management and conduct of these parishes and missions in the early history of the State.

From 1695 to 1772, when the Rev. William White be-

came the Rector of this parish, there were eight Rectors of Christ Church. Their history need not be entered into in detail in any discussion of this subject, and certainly not in one so brief as it is purposed to give at this time. But during that period Christ Church held on its way, exercising its ministry and exerting an influence in the region around. Within that period there were established in this city, in close connection with Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. Paul's; and in the country around, within the limits now embraced by the present Diocese of Pennsylvania, there was a line, a tier, of parishes organized, among which were Trinity, Oxford; St. James', Bristol; St. James', Perkiomen; St. Peter's, Great Valley; St. David's, Radnor; St. John's, Concord; St. Martin's, Marcus Hook, and St. Paul's, Chester.

This line of outposts extended almost from the frontiers of this present Diocese, as if there had been a sort of foresight of what was to come, as if the efforts made for the establishment of the Church in this region during this time fell within these limits. There were organizations, indeed a number of them, made within the limits of the present dioceses of Central Pennsylvania and Pittsburg, but the most striking feature is the line of frontier outposts. And the fact that this church was here, that here a ministry was exercised, and that here a liturgy was observed, was an inspiring motive in the establishment of some these of parishes, and was a force entering into the congregations composing them: and they are indebted to Christ Church.

In 1772, when Rev. William White became Rector of this parish, there began a history, extending through the first fourteen years of his rectorship, unparalleled in the history of the United States. As the nation, immediately following the Declaration of Independence and its establishment, passed through its period of greatest trial, so did the

Church in the State of Pennsylvania. For several years Bishop White was the only minister, and his congregation the only congregation in the Episcopal Church in this region. But Christ Church held on its way,—most of the others were closed. The people were discouraged, they were disheartened in Church work, as they were in the affairs concerning their government and the prospects of the country.

Here, in this place, gathered a body of men,—clergy and laity, over which the Rector of this church presided,—to hold the Primary Convention of the Diocese in 1784. William White was chosen president; and the next year that body met as the Diocesan Convention and organized the Diocese of Pennsylvania. It seemed a small beginning. There were, I think, six clergymen present, three of whom resided in Philadelphia, and three represented country parishes. There were eight laymen, three of whom represented parishes in this city, and five of whom came from the surrounding country. Several of the succeeding Conventions were of about the same proportions,—six, seven, eight, nine clergymen, and the same number of laymen or a little larger number, representing the parishes with which they were connected. And so it was when, in 1786, William White was elected Bishop of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

When he returned here in 1787 he became the Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania; and I wish to pause here to notice the wisdom which was exhibited in the deliberations of that Primary Convention and in the Conventions which followed in framing the organic law of the Diocese. If you compare what was done by these three or four first Conventions, more especially what was done in the first two, with our canon law as it exists to-day, you will find the germ of all that we have in that legislation that was

then adopted. It would seem as if the discerning mind of Bishop White looked beyond the surroundings of that time and anticipated what was to come, and had, even as the framers of the Declaration of Independence and the organizers of the Constitution of the United States, a foresight almost more than human in preparing an instrument capable of being adjusted to the growth and development that might come in after years.

Bishop White, as you all well know,—and all these facts are doubtless known to all who are here present,—Bishop White continued as the Bishop of this Diocese a period of forty-nine years, until 1836. He lived to see the little Convention of six clergymen and eight laymen grow to be a diocese in which there were eighty-six clergymen and twenty-five candidates for orders, with representatives from all parts of the State; a strong, united body, governed with that consummate wisdom which he always exhibited,—loyal to the Church of England, loyal to the truth of Jesus Christ.

Here Bishop White was baptized, here he received his first Communion, here he exercised his ministry as Rector of this church for fourteen years, here he was chosen to the Episcopate, here he performed his first ordination, here his remains lie. We may almost say that in these early years Christ Church was the Diocese of Pennsylvania; and we may say, from another point of view, that Bishop White was the Diocese of Pennsylvania. For there was an influence radiating from Christ Church and entering into the life of the Diocese which we can feel still; and the Diocese of Pennsylvania owes a great debt to Christ Church.

How shall that debt be discharged? We certainly hold in grateful memory all those who were so identified with its organization, laymen and woman, ministers of the Church, Bishop, priests and deacons. And we would not see their work, we would not see that which formed the house

in which their work was begun and carried on, we would not see it crumble into ruin, we would not see its energies decay. We all know what changes have taken place in this part of the city. We know how entirely the conditions surrounding Christ Church have changed. I do not suppose there are less people, less souls, within a radius of ten squares, than when it was filled with the élite, the cultured, the wealthy and refined of Philadelphia. Yet how greatly the character of the population has changed! Some of the descendants of those families still maintain their connection with Christ Church, but the tide of business—which has swept westward with resistless force—is leaving Christ Church farther and farther behind the centres of influential population.

Is it too much to think of this Diocese as providing for Christ Church an endowment by which it shall be enabled to exercise its ministry amongst this working, tenement-house, laboring, poor population that is crowding this neighborhood and filling these streets? Is not this the dictate of patriotism and of piety? In reverence for the past and hope for the future of the Diocese; in recognition of Christ Church's early influence and continuing influence in the Diocese, there should be provided, in addition to the endowment which Christ Church already possesses, a sufficient increase to sustain this work. It is worthy of the consideration of Churchmen and Churchwomen, who hold to the traditions of the past, and who look forward with anticipation and hope to the growth of the Church that is yet to be in this Diocese. And, indeed, we may all count it a privilege to live and labor for the Church of Christ and for our Lord Himself.

I take great pleasure in presenting the Rev. Dr. Parks, the Rector of St. Peter's, who will speak of "Christ Church and its Daughter Churches."

ADDRESS OF REV. J. LEWIS PARKS, D.D.

The Bishop of this Diocese has virtually called this church the mother of the Church of God in this Commonwealth. Even more than that I suppose it might be said without exaggeration that this church is truly the builder of the Church of God in the United States. But at any rate from her have emanated every organization ecclesiastical within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

It is particularly of her immediate family that I am to speak, and to bear to her their congratulations. She has, as I understand, three or four daughters. There is St. Peter's, St. James', and Christ Church Chapel—last born in her old age, and vigorous to the extent that it has now more communicants than this united parish had when Bishop White died. The daughters reflect the greatest possible credit, in my opinion, upon their mother.

It is not very singular, if you will consider it, that even in the earliest times, under the political domination of the Friends, this church should have attracted to itself an increasing number of the cultured, and of the wealthy, and of the civicly influential of the laity of this great city of Philadelphia. This was so even in the beginning; and it became still more so when the city, under the independent government, became the centre literary, and for awhile, the centre politically, of this country.

As to the clergy, of course the daughters share with the mother for a long time, because for a long time they were united. And the clerical roll of the parish was a roll of scholars, of gentlemen, of God-fearing men. It was not unnatural that clergy of the Church of England, unoccupied and not desired at home, should seek occupation in the colonies; and in the nature of things such pastors

added little to the dignity or piety of the colonial Church. But the record of the clerical care of the parish of Christ Church, St. James' and St. Peter's has absolutely no stain upon it. Duché, Coombe, Jenney, Peters, are honorable names; and perhaps for the same period in any other part of the colonies it would have been difficult—I say, perhaps, it would have been difficult—to render in all cases the same unqualified praise. Of the clergy of the chief of these daughters of Christ Church, I will speak in a moment. Of St. James' (for Christ Church Chapel is a baby yet and needs not to be spoken of), the clergy in old times left names identified with the religious life of the city, known to every Churchman of Philadelphia. Dr. Henry Morton, distinguished for his courtly urbanity, whose hospitality is still mentioned, and who was always ready to receive any, even to the youngest, of his brethren and shelter them, as they passed through the city; and Nichols, whom you remember with the greatest regard, and whom you surrendered with reluctance, that he might devote his energy, his exuberant fertility of plans, and his single-mindedness to the upbuilding of the great Diocese to which he was called. If you come to St. Peter's, the oldest daughter, I suppose we all understand that there is nothing like her list of clergy in a given space of years in any other parish we know of in this country. To pass on beyond the days of the united parish, from the time when St. Peter's separated from her mother and became independent, there occur such names as De Lancey, a prince and a statesman; Odenheimer, whose influence is felt to-day, long after he has been dead,—such a pastor that the grandchildren of his parishioners tell me of his instructions still; then Leeds, of gracious godliness; and lastly Davies, transferred to the administration of a great diocese of the Northwest.

Even in the subordinate clergy of the united parish were several remarkable men,—Muhlenberg, the seer of the clergy in this country, a man whose mind seemed to contain the germs of the great problems to the solution of which we are beginning to address ourselves to-day; Kemper the great missionary bishop, and Milnor the orator.

One may speak as proudly of the laity. The names of the laity run back into the most eventful times, and belong to the best of Philadelphia. As such they are well-known to Philadelphians; but an outsider would find a great many names of national repute. Francis Hopkinson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and James Biddle, who served under Preble and Bainbridge and Decatur and lay a year in the dungeons of Tripoli; and Commodore Richard Dale, whose responses in the services partook of the vigor of his convictions, and were uttered in a voice that had been trained in breezy weather; Horace Binney, of whom the notable thing I know, was his refusal of a justiceship in the Supreme Court of the United States, and his retiring in his full vigor from active life,—such was his anxiety lest he should be tempted to occupy a position which failing powers might disqualify him to fill; Joseph R. Ingersoll, minister to England; Henry Reed, lawyer, professor, literateur, lost in the "Arctic" in 1854; and John Welsh, minister to England in these our days.

Outside St. Peter's Church there are lying in her tombs men like Dallas; a man who was, or might have been, Attorney-General, and was director of the old bank, minister to Russia, Vice-President of the United States and minister to England. And lastly, the greatest of all our naval heroes until you come to Farragut, the only man who compared with him,—Stephen Decatur, a man whose death left his friend Baron broken hearted for the remainder of his days.

Now the daughters of Christ Church are still vigorous. St. James, with very timely, and I should not hesitate to say, very proper wisdom, transferred her site. Put by God's providence into a locality which makes her a future necessity, it is almost inconceivable that the western advance of business will oust her from her present position of ministering to the cultered and wealthy, who need to be trained and ministered to that they may become the guides of cities. Of Christ Church Chapel and her position well nigh the same may be said. But old St. Peter's stands by her mother; and while it is true of both mother and daughter that such is the singular attachment—and the attachment extends, I think, to the very children—which the descendants of the original worshippers entertain toward these two churches, that they still have a connection of some sort with them; I think the congregations recognize, and I am persuaded they recognize it heartily and gratefully, that their first and main duty is to the poor. There is no desire to mince or to conceal the fact that we are in the slums, and our duty is toward them. Both these churches are anchored stem and stern against the tide of change, not desiring to move; having outgrown the temptation. Both have a dense humanity around them to be cared for in body and soul. The work has always been done. As soon as the changes began, there began also changes in the work secular as well as religious,—not merely secular for the religious but for the irreligious,—that by our works we might bring men to piety.

The daughter has admirably prepared for this work among Christ's poor. She has a large and almost adequate endowment. She must have, she is getting, and will have half a million dollars. Already she has some two hundred thousand dollars in legacies and bequests; but more she must have, and she will have more, for she cannot get along

without it. When Bishop Odenheimer raised a storm by putting a cross over St. Peter's, he had the felicitous wisdom to put the cross over the globe. And over this quarter of the town these two churches must reign.

The daughter churches bring congratulations to their mother to-night. They heartily believe that she ought to have, and must and will have the necessary endowment for her divinely given task; that this great historical fane may be maintained to the instruction of this Diocese, and that the original parish of the city may go out and in among the poor day by day, ministering that Gospel which is pre-eminently the heritage of the little ones of the earth.

ADDRESS OF BISHOP PERRY.

It is to a cradle home of Church and country that we come to-night. Amidst the shrines and sepulchres of this land of ours there is no other spot so teeming with historic associations, so abounding in sacred memories. The ground on which we tread is holy ground. Reverently, lovingly, as pilgrims to some scene, fair to look upon, consecrated by faith and prayer and holy deeds, full of solemn memories of the past, we remember as we tread these aisles our fathers trod, as we stand within these walls where gathered the great and good of the Church and of the country's past, the years of the right Hand of the Most High. For our fathers' God is our God, and shall be to remotest generations. We praise, we bless, we magnify His Holy Name for all that in His loving kingdom He has done for them and for ourselves.

My theme requires a volume for its full and fitting treatment. Bear with me while I touch briefly, on this anni-

versary occasion, on the connection of this venerable Christ Church with the Church at large, the national historic Church of Christ in these United States.

Answering with but brief delay, if not, indeed, anticipating the State House bell, the peal of Christ Church rang out its proclamation, spiritual as well as temporal, of liberty to all the world,—liberty, civil and religious; freedom from alien potentate and power; glad announcement of the birth of the free Church in and coincident with the birth of the free State. This is no empty boast. Ere the clanging tongues of Old Liberty Bell and the answering peal from Christ Church had ceased their ringing on the natal day of the nation, there was born a National Church; and in response to the proclamation of the country's independence, the Rector, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church met at the home of Parson Duché and freed from the Prayer Book services all mention of King or of royal family, of the high court of Parliament, of the nobility of England; and, in short, of everything indicating subservience or allegiance to foreign domination, civil or ecclesiastical. It was by this brave act, by this repudiation, on the part of the newly freed and nationalized American Churchmen of any connection implying subordination to the temporal or spiritual rule of England—Church or State—that the ties of long existing dependence and the recognition of years of loving, nursing care by the Mother Church of the children in the western world were severed; and Church and State entered into independent life on one and the self-same day, July 4th, 1776.

No other religious body can trace its origin to the very birth-throes of the nation. With the news of what had been done in the State House for civil freedom, that of the quick response from Christ Church's Rector and Vestry for ecclesiastical liberty was borne to the northward to Parker, Rector

of Trinity Church, Boston, the leading spirit of the New England clergy. At the southward, on every side, the step taken by Christ Church was followed with alacrity; and so with glad acceptance the independence of Church as well as State was recognized and assured.

When the first step in the direction of Church autonomy was taken, this historic church numbered among its stated worshippers two-thirds of the members of the Congress which adopted the Declaration. The leaders in this movement for independence were Churchmen. John Morton, Churchman and vestryman at Chester, at that time a regular worshipper at this Church and a communicant at this altar, gave the casting vote, placing Pennsylvania on the side of freedom, and making the newly-organized State the keystone indeed in the arch of American liberty. Delaware's vote, as the gifted poet Buchannan Read so vividly depicts it, was turned for freedom by Cæsar Rodney's famous ride, and Cæsar Rodney was a Churchman and a stated worshipper at Christ Church. This cradle-home of civil and religious freedem was the church of Washington, of Franklin, of Robert Morris, of Henry Laurens, of the great body of the men who in the halls of Congress made the State, and then modelled the economy of the Church after its pattern.

The first step in the severance of the ties connecting the churches in America with the Mother Church of England was the act of this church's Rector, Churchwardens, Vestrymen and people. It is no wonder that when the war drew to a close, there appeared from the pen of the young patriot priest in charge as Rector of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's the celebrated pamphlet entitled, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered," written by the foremost ecclesiastical statesman of his day, a youth of thirty-six years, and containing among other

wise suggestions the incorporation of the laity in the councils of the Church.

And so it occurred that the men who framed the national government were associated in the even greater work, not of founding or framing a Church,—for the Church is from above and has one Head, one Founder, Christ our Lord,—but of rearranging and readjusting the economy of the Church as no longer dependent on the Church of England, but as a national church, American in every feature of outward organization, and yet in communion with and a branch of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ. There exists the closest agreement between our constitutions, our conventions, our conciliar bodies, our general and diocesan organization, in short, our very vestries—the outward and visible machinery of our autonomy—and the principles and practice of the nation as formulated in its constitution and administration. It could not be otherwise, for the same men framed and fashioned each; and each we reverently remember at this anniversary time. And so, when the war was over and the adjustment of our ecclesiastical machinery was being slowly, carefully, and with consummate skill evolved, it was in Christ Church that the first ecclesiastical synodical body convened, composed of laymen as well as of clergymen; and not only was our general ecclesiastical constitution here enacted but the revision of the Prayer Book—at first, in the "Proposed Book," carried, it may be, too far, but resulting at length in the Prayer Book which served us for a hundred years and more.

This very "Proposed Book" was here prepared, here used for the first time, here discarded; and here the Standard Prayer Book—only in 1892 superseded by a new "Standard"—was also prepared, and adopted for the century's use. The old Church books of Christ Church bear the indications of those use in those early revisions. They

enable us to trace the process through which the State Prayers of England were transformed into patriotic petitions for President, for Congress, and for the people of the United States.

In this venerable Christ Church the measures were taken for securing for us the episcopate in the English line of succession. Gratefully, with every American Churchman, do we recognize the heroism of the Catholic Remainder of the Church of Scotland—despoiled, down-trodden, under disabilities by law—in giving to the great-hearted Seabury the consecration to his high office of first Bishop of Connecticut, first American Bishop, first Bishop presiding in the American Church. But it was surely befitting, in view of what the Mother Church of England had done for us, that in the American line of succession from the Apostles, and through them from the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, there should be had the line of Canterbury as well as that of Aberdeen. Had not Seabury succeeded in Scotland we may well believe with Parker of Massachusetts, that White or Provoost would have gained their quest in England. But thanks be to God, that within these walls the measures were taken and the way made easy for the communication of the Apostolical gift and grace through the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England.

And when the coveted gift was gained, when besides the great-hearted Bishop of Connecticut at his New London seat and See, there were in America as Bishops of the Anglican line, the aimable and saintly White, first Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the learned and militant Provoost, first Bishop of New York, it was in this church that the measures looking towards the union of the antagonistic churches of New England and those of the Middle and Southern States took form and shape. Here, in the early conventions, the records of which are among our costliest *Americana* to-day,

there were formulated the general ecclesiastical constitutions, which, after needed revisions, brought into fraternal union Seabury and his northern following with White and Provoost, the representatives of the churches of the Middle and Southern States. Here the first House of Bishops met. Here were arranged the measures for the continuance of the line of American succession. Here, after solemn prayers and with earnest sermons, the men who had been foremost in the framing of the government and the Federal Constitution found their labors called for and their prayers offered up to God, their toil, their interest and their sympathies excited, as they made, after debate and patient consideration, more fair, more stately, and more beautiful the city of our God on earth.

Within these walls the communication of the three orders of the ministry as derived from the English line of succession began; and not only priests, and deacons almost innumerable, but bishops have gone forth to minister the Word and sacraments to needy, perishing souls. From this sacred place there went forth, after years of acceptable service, the first Missionary Bishop of our Church, the sainted Jackson Kemper. It was fitting that one trained at the feet of White and receiving the apostolic commission from his hands should be the Church's leader in the host of self-denying and heroic bishops going East, West, North, South to evangelize the nations. Here in Christ Church where the first "act" of the General Convention recognized the duty of the newly-organized American Church to undertake the work of missions:—here where the utterances of the fervid, eloquent Doane, proclaimed the principle that every baptized member of the Church is a member of the Church's missionary organization and consecrated to mission work and loving service, were our first missionary efforts taken. Here, too, has been the begin-

ning of nearly all, if not all, of our eleemosynary societies, our humanitarian efforts.

Is it of patriotic impulses that we seek a fitting source? Where William White, the patriot chaplain of Congress, seeking this post of danger when Congress itself was fleeing from its foes, and where Blackwell, White's assistant or curate, also served, after spending as chaplain at Valley Forge that memorable winter of doubt and almost despair, we may well find the incitement to the love of country as well as of Church.

Is it of hospital and other humanitarian work we would ask the beginning? We find it here in Muhlenberg's service as the assistant, friend, loving disciple of White.

Are we seeking the true source of our great theological school—the General Theological Seminary of New York? Hobart was, indeed, the founder; but the great Bishop of New York was trained and taught by William White, and from the very beginnings of this school, William White was its friend, its guide, the shaper of its fortunes. Here the work among the colored people had its start; for William White ordained the first clergyman of color in this land. The suggestion of the Episcopal Academy was an inspiration of William White, and its first trustees were the Christ Church parish officers and people. Christ Church had its intimate connection with the founding of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, now the noble University of Pennsylvania, which we may well believe has but entered upon the vestibule of its coming greatness. It is the same with Christ Christ Hospital, one of those gracious characters all the world must recognize and approve, which had here its start and springings to light,—and all this before the war which gave us freedom, civil and religious.

This good work has ever gone on. From Christ Church,

as from "Siloa's brook," there has ever flowed stream after stream of beneficence, which have made glad the city of our God. Here, besides those we have already mentioned, De Lancey ministered and drank in from the lips of White the lessons of wisdom that great first bishop of Pennsylvania knew so well how to impart. May we not trace back to Christ Church the coming readjustment of ecclesiastical system, which White foresaw, when, like the Church Catholic of Christ throughout the world, we shall have provinces, primate, archbishops, and all the needed helps to our development. The "evangelical" of to-day will not forget that James Milnor here labored under the loving direction of the holy influences and gracious gifts of God to His Church attending the ministry of this gifted and godly man.

But we may not thus go on, for were the remaining hours of the day to be occupied by our recital of the close connection of this sacred spot to the Church at large in the United States, we could only indicate a tithe of what is in our mind and almost on our lips. It is enough that in this celebration of two centuries of parish life, in this remembrance of the years of the right hand of the Most High, we have the Church in the United States turning its gaze upon us and rejoicing in this fitting effort which we seek to make to the glory of God, and the memory of our fathers. Of this historic pile, of this holy ground on which we stand to-night, we may well cry out "*Esto perpetua!*"

The generations yet to come shall gather here with love and reverance. May they with us thank God for the good example of the sires who here laid broad and deep the foundations of Church and country to the glory of God and the good of man.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd.

There was a celebration of the Blessed Sacrament at 11 A.M. on this day, followed in the evening by a festival for parish workers in the Parish House.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd.

A celebration of the Eucharist at an early hour in the morning, was followed by a service at night for Church workers of the Diocese, at which were present delegations from parishes from all parts of the city. A sermon was preached by the Rev. William B. Bodine, D.D., Rector of the Church of the Saviour, Philadelphia, as follows:

SERMON OF REV. DR. BODINE.

Ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven.—1 Thessalonians 1: 9–10.

I wish to begin this evening with the statement, which no doubt has been uttered by all who have spoken in this sacred place during the past week, that there is no church in America around which cluster so many hallowed associations as this Christ Church in this city of Philadelphia. There is no church so well fitted to be the shrine of united patriotic and religious devotion. And this pulpit in which I am now standing for the first time, what words it has heard; what scenes it has beheld! How many golden utterances have gone forth from it during the past one hundred years! Here William A. Muhlenberg preached his first

sermon; here William White preached for the sixty years of his wonderfully wise and fruitful ministry; here scores and even hundreds of the strongest and best men in the American Church have held forth the word of life. To-night we are nearing the close of a remarkable bi-centennial celebration, and in connection with this service I have been asked to speak to you. Of course I had no option in replying to the request, which was, in itself, equivalent to a command. So in this place I stand, rejoicing in the past and hopeful for the future, as in the name of the Great Head of the Church I try to bring to you His message of peace and strength and salvation.

The text just named has been chosen because the duty assigned to me has been that of speaking to you as a body of Christian workers, and I have aimed to select a passage of God's Word which not only speaks of service, but of the spirit in which it should be performed. St. Paul is here writing to the saints in the church of Thessalonica, and tells them with gladness of that great crisis in their lives when they turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven. In writing thus he makes known to the Thessalonian followers of our Lord just what the Christian life upon the earth ought to be, *viz.*, an earnest service of the living and true God coupled with an attitude of expectancy for the final triumph of the Son of Man, the two—the service and the sure expectation—fitting together as the halves of an apple, unitedly forming a rounded whole. The service of God during our pilgrimage below needs something to brighten it, the cheering and invigorating influence of hope. If a man works for God in the present without looking on in anticipation of the glorious triumph which is promised and sure to come, his work will sink to the level of drudgery; and drudgery can never be the best kind of work. On the

other hand, if a man folds his "faithclad arms in lazy lock," and does nothing but look for the establishment of Christ's kingdom of righteousness and peace, he becomes a mere dreamer, an idler, a sentimentalist. Of the two extremes, the latter is much the worse. It is the combination of the two, their harmonious union which gives us the ideal experience for which we ought to be praying and towards which we ought to be climbing.

No message is suited to this time and occasion excepting one which is practical. So let me speak to you concerning (I) the Christian's vocation ; (II) the Christian's attitude.

(I) The Christian's vocation is "to serve the living and true God." For this partially he is left on the earth. He needs discipline that so he may be a pillar, finely polished, in the temple of our God. But in addition to this the Most High has a cause upon the earth, the cause of righteousness and peace and truth ; and that cause needs help, and God's will concerning his servants is that they should aid in every possible way in the furthering of that cause. How then can we best serve God? The duty being apparent, this becomes an important question.

(*a*) We can serve God by the promulgation of His truth. According to the teaching of Sacred Scripture the range of the truth is extensive, its power vast. St. James writes, "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth." St. Peter writes, "Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth." St. Paul writes, "God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth." And the "Holy One," greater than all Apostles and Prophets, even our Lord Jesus Christ, has said, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," praying earnestly for His faithful followers, "Sanctify them through thy truth ; thy word is truth." From these united utterances it plainly

appears that spiritual liberty, regeneration, sanctification, salvation are results which flow from the right reception of the truth. When St. Peter preached the Word of God with boldness on the Day of Pentecost, he was serving God. When St. Paul reasoned in the synagogue of Thessalonica, when he stood on Mar's Hill, when he taught publicly and from house to house, he was serving God. So when St. John declared the love that God hath to us, and when still young through God's grace, though nearly five score years might have made him old, he simply repeated the ever inspiring message "Little children love one another;" he was serving God. So with St. Thomas in Parthia, with St. Bartholomew in India, with Lazarus in Marseilles. They proclaimed the truth, and thereby served God. So Chrysostom and Gregory and Athanasius, and men of like spirit and power during the eighteen Christian centuries! So the saintly men who have proclained the Word of the Lord on this side of the ocean, and in this City of Brotherly Love during the two hundred years of the life of this honored parish!

But let us not forget that these men were merely leaders, and that a mighty host hath followed in their train. The Christian father, putting words of heavenly wisdom into the heart of his child! The Christian mother, teaching her little ones the way of life and holiness! The faithful Sunday-school teacher! The members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew doing their duty in prayer and manly effort! The Girls' Friendly Society! All who speak or write words of cheer and comfort, or who with accents of tender sympathy pour the oil of consolation into bruised and bleeding hearts telling of the Great Physician and the Holy Ghost the Comforter! All men everywhere who wisely utter words of heavenly wisdom concerning repentance towards God or faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, or love to the brethren are thereby serving God!

Nay, the whole truth is still larger even than this, for there is truth in God's world as well as in His Sacred Word. Sir Isaac Newton, gathering his pebbles upon the shore of the great ocean of truth, and using these pebbles for the good of his fellow-men, was thereby serving God. Christopher Columbus sailing westward to make known the glories of an undiscovered continent, was thereby serving God. Our own Agassiz, having "no time to make money," but burning with desire to open the mines of golden truth, hidden in the rock or buried beneath the sea, and proclaiming the truth which he had learned through fish and beast and bird, was thereby serving God. And so wherever men are striving after truth in art, or literature, or philosophy, or science, and laboring to make known "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," they are serving God.

Of course there is a higher service and a lower service. Service in the realm of religion is higher than service in art or philosophy. Christ stands at the summit of all knowledge. In Him are hid all the purest and noblest treasures of wisdom. Let that be made emphatic; but let it not obscure the statement that all truth seeking and all truth telling is a service of the living and true God.

(*b*) We can serve God by our works of active benevolence. When we relieve the oppressed, or deal our bread to the hungry, or clothe the destitute, or visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, we are thereby serving God.

With the circumstances of our modern life pressing about us, many Christian men and women in our cities are debarred from the privilege of doing much of this truly Christian work in a direct way; and this is no doubt to their spiritual loss. For their growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ they ought to be doing some of it—the more the better. But when the difficulties

thicken in the way of direct Christian activity through actual contact with the poor and suffering, something can be done by those who are "rich in this world's goods" through the free, glad outpouring of their earthly treasure. Time is power; money is power also, for money is simply a representative of other values. It is time condensed, energy compressed, toil forced compactly together and crowded into limits easily controlled. It will not do therefore for men or women, whose are the associations of luxury, to say "I cannot be caring for the sick and neglected; I cannot be looking up poor, ragamuffin children all day long—I hav'nt the time." In one sense yes, in another sense no; you may have the time in the dollars which you count your own. And just as you get your bonnets or your coats with your money, just so with your money you may undo many a heavy burden, and let many oppressed go free.

Many years ago a Christian laymen said to me, "It seems absolutely essential that my time shall be given to my business. I wish that I could do this direct Christian work, but apparently I cannot. But measurable business prosperity is mine, so I can afford to pay somebody to do work for me as a 'substitute.' If I cannot fight at the front, I can support somebody whilst struggling there. Can you recommend to me a suitable person?" The person was found, and the work done. And what gladness shone in that counting-room in consequence!

Personal activity in labors of Christian benevolence brings to the laborer the fruit of richest perfection. But this other kind of labor, through money freely offered in Christ's name, counts also. So let us all serve God through our labors of genuine benevolence.

(*c*) We can serve God by the cultivation of Christian graces. Never did John Milton tune his lyre to sing more

wisely, or with more strength and beauty, than when he wrote that immortal sonnet upon his own blindness, in which he says:

> "God doth not need
> Either man's work, or his own gifts; Who best
> Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best: His state
> Is kingly: thousands at His bidding speed
> And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
> They also serve who only stand and wait."

Yes, we serve God by toil and by waiting also, and the one service may be as important and rich in blessing as the other. The poor, tired, suffering saints who sit in loneliness and wait upon beds of pain and anguish sometimes say mournfully, "What can I do in the way of service? I am cut off from that." Nay, my brother, that may be opening to you in the very highest way.

> "Birds by being glad their Maker bless,
> By simply shining sun and star;
> And we, whose law is love, serve less
> By what we do than what we are."

Henry Martyn was wont to say "the power of gentleness is irresistible." The power of patience! with what glory it shines, and how hearts are touched by it as with the flashing rays of heaven! So let us keep constantly in mind the certain fact that every time we check a hasty word in its utterance, every time we throttle an unlawful thought, every time we crush an unholy desire, we are serving God; every time we hew a timber, every time we polish a corner, every time we lift aloft a stone in the sacred temple of love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, we are thereby serving God. And thus all men and all women can be laborers together with God. The silent and the active can alike ply their Christian voca-

tion. The resolute and heroic toiler and the meek and lowly sufferer can both serve the living and true God. And opportunities abound, for

> "The common round, the daily task
> Will furnish all we ought to ask
> Room to deny ourselves, a road
> To bring us daily nearer God."

(II). And now as to the other side of the Christian life, the bright and joyous side, that which gleams with the light of expectation. "Ye turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven."

That Christ should come again to judge the living and the dead was the faith of the early Church. It is the faith of the Church to-day. How He may come we may not definitely say. We only know that He will come, and that every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him. And the kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him. Our outward eyes may behold Him, or they may not. He may be visible only to the spiritual sight within. The essential thing to believe and know is that He will come with power and great glory; that He will appear on earth as the avenger and destroyer of every wrong, and this is the name by which He shall be called "The Lord our Righteousness." "In His days shall the righteous flourish, and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth."

This is the Christian's hope. And it is no small matter. It is a hope which covers the earth, and takes in the eternities. A hope which brings life and immortality to light, abolishing forever sin and suffering and death,—"a good hope through grace."

Not very long ago in the most popular of the daily journals of the city of London there appeared the following statement: "Agnostics and Secularists who think that we

have only one life do not build hospitals or go as Sisters of Charity among the poor. Logically one might suppose that the persons who expect happiness beyond this earth would ignore earthly unhappiness, believing it of no importance comparing it with the bliss to come. It never has been so, however, at any stage of the world's history. Giving to the poor has been the outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual faith, even before the rise of Christianity. We suppose that out of every hundred pounds given to charity in England to-day ninety-five come from religious men and women."

This statement is doubtless true. Faith, hope, love, these are the Christian virtues. And the love glows all the more brightly because of the gladdening rays which come from faith and hope.

That Christ's reappearing will be accompanied with mighty social convulsions seems clear beyond question. He comes to make an end of sin, and to bring in everlasting righteousness. Of course His coming must be an act of judgment. If wrongs are to be put away with a strong hand, the wrong-doer must suffer. If evil is to be ended forever, the evil-doers must go down in an agony of defeat in the last dread conflict. This the early Christians knew. But they looked beyond the terrors of the final day to the glorious vision which entranced them, wherein they beheld a redeemed creation, a better country, a new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. That hope held them as an anchor of the soul when the sea and the waves were roaring with the loud rush of persecutions. That enrapturing prospect filled them with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

So let us look up and on. So let us never grow weary in well doing, for we shall reap if we faint not. Let us humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God that He

may exalt us in due time. Let us be diligent that we may be found of Him in peace without spot and blameless. Let us live as in His presence, our conversation being in heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour.

This then is the Church's message to Christian workers delivered from this sacred place upon this most memorable occasion. Your mission is to serve the living and true God. That you may do this successfully, be sharers of His spirit. He is the God of truth. Be true, absolutely true, in all your earthly relations. Be alive also! "More life and fuller 'tis we want." Let His life quiver within you. So shall you have both peace and power. And then besides wait for His Son from heaven. "Be patient, therefore, my brethren unto the coming of the Lord." There will be hours of discouragement, but remember that the sun is behind the clouds. There will be times of difficulty and danger. Wait in sure and certain hope.

"Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope." "Cast not away therefore your confidence which hath great recompense of reward, for yet a little while and He that shall come will come, and will not tarry."

Revelation is light, and the light brings with it a glorious and enduring hope. Hope on then, hope ever! Believe this gospel of hope. So shall you be workmen having no need to be ashamed. In the pews where you are sitting George Washington worshipped God, Benjamin Franklin pondered the ways of God to men, and Robert Morris learned the way of heroic self-sacrifice.

Here Bishop White preached the gospel of hope. Our fathers builded wisely and well. They believed in God, and so became His servants. They trusted Him, and so were strong to do the right. In the darkest hour of their

lives, and of our nation's life, their hope kept alive the flickering flame of zeal. And so may you be quickened more earnestly than ever "to serve the living and true God and to wait for His Son from heaven."

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24th.

The Octave of services was completed by a service commemorating Christ Church and the Dioceses that have grown out of it. This service began at 11 A.M. and ended with a celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The preacher was the Rt. Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, D.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh. His sermon was as follows:

SERMON OF BISHOP WHITEHEAD.

That those things which cannot be shaken may remain.—Hebrews xii, 27.

Two hundred years is a long period in the history of anything American. And there are not many organizations or institutions this side the Atlantic, not even our government itself, which can at the present or in the near future celebrate their bi-centennaries.

All the more noteworthy is it that we are called to-day to a festival observance which witnesses to the pre-eminent age of this parish among the venerable things of Philadelphia, and indeed of the United States.

Noteworthy, too, that the festival is ecclesiastical, bearing testimony to the quality of permanence in religion, a quality which, like salt, has preserved and purified what otherwise might easily have been corrupted. For we must

not forget that we are called to celebrate the bi-centennial of an organization absolutely identical throughout all its history, unchanged in all things, altered not one whit in essential point since the beginning. Its witness has been borne throughout its long and honorable career, and that without hesitation, or compromise, to those principles on which it was founded. Faithfully have all its rectors upheld "Evangelic Truth and Apostolic Order." Loyally have its people acknowledged the same. Our Service to-day is identical (without the change of more than a few words) with that which was read by the Rev. Mr. Clayton, and shared by his congregation, two hundred years ago.

Do you say there is little noteworthy in that?

I answer that two hundred years is by no means too short to accomplish great changes even in ecclesiastical affairs. Witness the merging of the old Swedish churches in Delaware and Pennsylvania into the Anglican Church. Witness what seems to us the betrayal of King's Chapel, Boston, to an alien body. Witness in the same latitude a few generations ago the rapid defection of orthodox congregations one after the other to Socinianism. Witness alterations, even in the essentials of the faith within the last generation, by the Church of Rome. Witness the shifting of various denominations since the Reformation, and their increasing discord with their own formularies and confessions before our very eyes to-day.

The two hundred years of this parish's existence have sufficed for the inauguration and spread of the great Wesleyan body, and its disintegration already in several kinds of Methodists. Within the same period have arisen various kinds of Presbyterians, instead of the one staid and well-settled communion to be found here two centuries ago. Other numerous instances could be given. So that it is indeed worthy of note that we celebrate the anniver-

sary of something permanent and unchangeable, grown indeed from infancy to maturity, but maintaining the same features in the adult as in the child, possessing the same organs and exercising the same powers, only brought on further towards perfection.

It becomes pertinent then, and will not be unprofitable to inquire what are those elements in the life of this parish which have contributed and do now contribute to its permanent establishment, growth and influence. What elements have made it a fountain of help and encouragement beyond its own borders? What has enabled it to be a mother church, so that children from afar come (as I do this day from beyond the Alleghenies) to offer gladly their congratulations and render their grateful acknowledgments? What are "the things that cannot be shaken?" What are the things which, therefore, despite all vicissitudes "shall remain," as they have remained?

We look around our modern denominationalism; we see church built against church, altar reared against altar, congregations divided on some question of method or of ritual; the various kinds of Presbyterians all holding the same views as to the parity of the ministry, and as to the mode of conducting divine worship, all upholding in the main the same doctrine, but divided on some secondary matter, concerning which the adherents themselves very often have not a very clear intelligence. Several kinds of Baptists, all holding very much the same faith, all practicing the same immersion; several kinds of Methodists united in their zeal, and in their reverence for their founder, but separated on some minor detail of government, or of practice. Little sects here and there, keeping up a vigorous, and sometimes a sort of galvanic life, by virtue of adherence to some one or two doctrines considered most important, and which, being magnified beyond all proportion,

claim the loyalty, even unto death, of those who rally round them. And one cannot help wondering what must be the effect of all this difference of opinion, what shall be the ultimate result:—Is the house thus divided against itself to come to desolation? Is Christianity doomed to be a dismal failure because men cannot agree about these things? Must there necessarily be before our Presbyterian brethren, for instance, the dark prospect of utter ruin, because just now there is a difference of opinion as to the advisability and method of revising the Confession of Faith?

Almost every one answers such questions in the negative, simply because, by a sort of intuition, we recognize that these are not the essential things. We must fain confess that Christian disciples are divided by matters that are of small importance when compared with those things which "cannot be shaken," and which "remain." Though there should be ten times more difference of opinion and questioning on the part of the various portions of the great company of disciples, though there should be far more division than at present, and far more difference of administration, and of belief, we should be compelled to assert that the Christian religion would still make progress, as it has in the past, notwithstanding the many divisions arising since the English Reformation. We believe that the ultimate triumph of Christ is assured, in spite of all these barriers and hindrances, because, by a sort of intuition, we look past these things to Christ Himself, and recognize the eternal vigor of His conquering arm, and believe that He shall be more than conqueror at the last.

And that these things are only secondary, is witnessed by the fact that Christian people work together, pray together, join hand in hand in many enterprises, and thus recognize the underlying unity; as when one stands upon the broad earth, bearing all its teeming millions, and feels the pulse

of the one humanity, even though family and clan and nation be separated one from the other by walls and barriers. It is a curious, and indeed a sad spectacle, Christian people thus composedly and all unconsciously accusing themselves of foolishness in caring more for secondaray things than for the great privilege and duty of peace and concord and unity.

The hope of Christianity lies in this, that more and more each year, disciples of Christ, feeling the unwisdom and the crime of many divisions, will turn their thought to those things which unite us in one bond of fellowship. For we all feel instinctively, that when the Lord shall come again in His glory, when we look at things terrestrial from the *other side* of that great event, when we come to esteem things at the value which eternity shall give them, almost all these matters which now separate us will seem infinitesimally small in comparison with the awful verities which are infinite and eternal.

I want to speak this morning about those things which in the view of this Church "cannot be shaken," the things upon which we all ought to be agreed, rather than the things upon which we are divided; the things for which, as we believe, this venerable parish has stood through all its history. If we would listen to their voices, the divisions of Christendom, as we sincerely believe and claim, would speedily disappear.

Our House of Bishops, in laying down in a solemn formula, that which they held to be a sacred deposit, put in trust for all the centuries, have enumerated four great fundamental *facts*, upon which alone any true reunion can be gained, or, as they expressed it, progress might be made towards unity. First of all, the Word of God, as the inspired revelation of God's will to man. Next, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, as the sufficient embodiment of

Christian belief. Third, the two great Sacraments instituted by Christ Himself; Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. And fourth, that Historic Episcopate, which witnesses to the corporate and visible continuance of the Gospel in the world, since the beginning.

As the geologist from one single bone can build up the structure of an animal extinct, so from these four facts, can the thoughtful and intelligent Christian elaborate and fill out the form of the Christian Church of the future. Our Bishops mentioned these four principles because they believed them to be unshakable in the future as they have been in the past. They will outlast all the changes and chances of time, as they have outlasted until now; they are the foundation rocks upon which it would be safe to build; there is no shifting sand underlying them, they imply very much more than they express, and their consideration leads us back to the very beginning of things. For you will notice that the four are all of them *Institutions*, outward and visible—the Word of God, the Nicene Faith, the Sacraments, and the Ministry. They are all outward and visible signs which announce an inward and spiritual grace, they all point to truths far beyond themselves. We learn from them the great truths of God's existence, His personality, His mind and heart turned towards the creatures of His hand, so that He would communicate Himself to them by holy men, moved to speak or write under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Thereby it has been possible to glean from their speech first, afterwards to be attested by their writings, a clear and definite statement of that which is most essential to believe, that which we call the Catholic Faith, which except a man accept *implicitly*, if not explicitly, "he must without doubt, perish everlastingly." In the two Sacraments, God does not *reveal* Himself, but *communicates* Himself to men, receiv-

ing them into the manifest relation of sonship, and nourishing them unto everlasting life. And the Ministry has its triple duty of explaining the will of God, proclaiming that will as it has always been received by the historic Church, and conveying God's grace to men by the pledges which God Himself has ordained.

They all imply the existence of a body called the Church, the society of which the ministry is a constituent part, which Christ Himself ordained, and to which He has promised His presence, even unto the end of the world—the society to which His Word was given, by which the Faith was declared, and in which the Sacraments are duly administered by the authorized messengers of God.

It seems to us that these four institutions stand or fall together. Take any one of them away and the others are irretrievably weakened. The city must stand "foursquare," in order to be solid and permanent. Moreover, each of these principles includes all the rest; for the Word of God certainly witnesses to the true Faith, to the Holy Sacraments, and to the authorized Ministry. The Faith is witnessed to by the Holy Scriptures, and maintained in the Sacraments, and proclaimed by the Clergy. The Sacraments would be of no meaning unless they proclaimed the true doctrines, which are emphasized in the Holy Scriptures, and formulated in the Creed, and are administered by those holding Christ's commission. And surely the Ministry would have no basis to stand upon, were it not that Creed, and Scripture, and Sacraments all cry out for the personal witnesses who alone can make them effective in the world, from generation to generation.

These things, then, it seems to us, are the things which cannot be shaken; these the things for which witness has been borne in this parish for the last two hundred years. How is it possible to conceive of a permanent system of

Christianity that should leave any one of them out? Such a system would be certainly cut-off from connection with the *past;* and would be an entirely new thing, and because new, false. The rapid disintegration of the various denominations during the comparatively short time since the Reformation, should cause their adherents to ask most diligently what that element of disintegration is. Something is lacking in their constituent qualities, else it is impossible that they should so easily and so frequently be "*shaken.*" For it must never be forgotten that *continuity of life* is as necessary to *identity* of life in the Church, as in human experience. If to the Church at the beginning, Christ gave His promise of presence and blessing even *unto the end of the world*, it is clear that there must be continuity of actual fact, or else the Church of the nineteenth century can have no right to its claim to be the Church of Christ which started out in the first century.

Whatever were the features of the infant, must be, however modified by circumstances, and by time, still the same features in the man. Whatever contour the Church had at the beginning, it ought to have, however ennobled and developed, at maturity. If heart and lungs and various senses were necessary for perfection at the outset, the same organs are necessary for perfection later on. The constant references in the Scriptures, to a body, and to life in the body, give us a strong claim on the attention of those to whom we come, urging the identity of the Church of the nineteenth century, with that which started out on the first Easter Day, with the glorious commission to claim the world for Christ. Who shall gainsay the assertion that the Word of God in its fullest and freest sense, not merely as written words, but as held and believed and taught, was the possession of the Church at the very earliest movement? Who shall deny that in the same way, a certain divine

faith was formulated and held, even on that first great occasion when thousands were baptized into the Name of and therefore into the belief in, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? Who can fail to understand that from the very outset the great sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lord's Supper, were constantly observed? Nothing is clearer than that certain men, commissioned with their high ambassadorship, went hither and thither into all the known world, preaching the Gospel and the things that they had learned, conveying them to others that they might teach and preach the same.

Now our Church, and the whole Anglican Communion, assembled by its representative Bishops, in the Lambeth Conference, has clearly announced its firm belief in the enduring nature of these four institutions, and in the great truths for which they stand. And what is more, the whole Christian world can hardly fail to accept in due time that testimony, because it is in harmony with the testimony well-nigh unbroken of all the Christian centuries. The more thought and discussion there are given these four points, the more certainly shall all intelligent and well instructed Christian people give their adherence to them. These things which cannot be shaken, will remain. They form the backbone, or rather the warp and woof of Christian teaching, as regards Christianity as an Institution; and all other things, however important, are, after all, secondary to these. And it will become more and more manifestly absurd for sober Christian men and women to remain divided in various sects and denominations, when, concerning fundamental principles, the immense majority of all the past and of the present as well, are so thoroughly at one.

How insignificant appear controversies and misunderstandings about organs, and robes, and adornments, and confessions, when we look with unprejudiced eyes at the

noble grandeur of such things as those of which we have been speaking. Let us remember that many of the things which now engage our attention, will seem in the great day of the Lord, utterly unworthy of a moment's consideration.

Two or three things ought to be especially emphasized as the duty of intelligent Christian people in these days: First, ought we not to try and school our minds to discriminate between the essential and the accidental, between that which is necessary, and that which is proper, or beautiful, or expedient? There is as much mental strabismus and astigmatism as physical; probably more. We forget that we all see spiritual things as in a glass, darkly, and therefore it behooves us to be the more careful in forming our estimate, and not to be too hasty in judgment, or partial or prejudiced in our ultimate view of things. Secondly, and as a part of that of which we have been speaking, ought we not to educate ourselves in *good nature*, looking with good-humored charity and tolerance upon the things, most of them non-essential and secondary, in which our brother differs from us? If he must sing Psalms, let us not revile him for it. If he cares for lights and vestments, let us be equally indulgent. If he worships God in one fashion and we in another, let us not magnify his peculiarities, and esteem him the less because of them. Let us look with kindly eyes on mankind in general, and not at ourselves in particular. The superciliousness that disdains one's neighbor, simply because he differs (although such superciliousness is often found as a characteristic of those who profess to be broad-minded), is totally opposed to the spirit of Christianity. Do you not remember how our Lord was circumcised, not for Himself, but for others, and because it was, by others, considered proper and right? Was He not baptized, not for Himself, but "to fulfill all righteousness,"

and to adapt Himself to the prejudices simply of those among whom He came? Did He not say to Peter:—"Lest we should displease them, let us pay tribute?" How unlike His loving temper is that which separates from another, simply because he differs; the temper that is slow to make allowance.

But all this has to do with our treatment of our brethren *individually*, as fellow-disciples of our common Lord. When we come to our attitude towards the *essentials of the Faith*, the Christian Church as an Institution, a vessel to convey the knowledge of God and the grace of God to the successive generations of men, then we must heed the exhortation: "Be watchful, and *strengthen* the things which remain." We must see to it that we, for our part, build up ourselves in the most holy Faith, growing stronger every day in our appreciation of that which is indeed the truth, "earnestly contending for the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints"—seeking that grace by which alone our lives can be brought into conformity with that truth, and daily making progress in the divine life, and "growing up unto Him in all things, which is the Head, even Christ."

Here, the truest tolerance is that which, while it confesses the liberty of all, nevertheless, holds fast most firmly to its own heritage of faith, holding nothing dearer than loyalty to that truth which God has revealed to itself. Then when at the last, all the scaffolding shall drop away, when all that which has been secondary shall take its proper place, that which "*cannot be shaken*," shall indeed "remain," the assurance and promise to us that we have built upon the true foundation. Though the winds and waves may beat upon the structure which has been reared, it shall not fall, for it is founded upon the rock.

Therefore, at the close of two centuries of steadfast

witness-bearing, this venerable parish still feels the pulsing of her vigorous life, still maintains her courage, still holds aloft with steady arm and undaunted heart the banner of the ancient faith, knowing that it shall surely conquer in the end; and to her the exhortation comes: "Be watchful, and *strengthen* the things that remain."

Brethren, you may well remember the words which immediately follow our text, "Wherefore, we *receiving* a kingdom which *cannot be shaken*, let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear."

This connects the past with the future, it enjoins in the centuries to come like fidelity to that displayed in the centuries past. Your predecessors preserved the true principles of the Catholic religion unshaken. Ours they are to-day.

"Wherefore, we *receiving* a kingdom which cannot be shaken, let us have grace whereby in all the coming years we may offer service acceptable to God with reverence and godly fear."

And if you ask me, what can we do this very day? I answer, surely, on this and every occasion when the Holy Communion is celebrated you can pray as you never have done heretofore, in some such words as are commended to us in the two hundred and thirtieth hymn:

"For all Thy Church, O Lord, we intercede;
Make Thou our sad divisions soon to cease;
Draw us the nearer each to each, we plead,
By drawing all to Thee, O Prince of Peace;
Thus may we all one Bread, one Body be
Through this blest Sacrament of Unity.

"We pray Thee, too, for wanderers from Thy fold;
Oh, bring them back, Good Shepherd of the sheep,
Back to the faith which saints believed of old,
Back to the Church which still that faith doth keep;
Soon may we all one Bread, one Body be,
Through this blest Sacrament of Unity.

"So, Lord, at length when Sacraments shall cease,
May we be one with all Thy Church above,
One with Thy saints in one unbroken peace,
One with Thy saints in one unbounded love;
More blessed still, in peace and love to be
One with the Trinity in Unity."

On the afternoon of Sunday, November 24th, a patriotic service was held under the auspices of the Society of Colonial Wars, of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, with the presence of representatives of the Society of the Cincinnati, the Sons of the Revolution, the Colonial Dames of America, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Society of the War of 1812, the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, the Naval Order of the United States, etc. His Excellency, General Daniel H. Hastings, Governor of Pennsylvania, and other State officials; His Honor, Charles F. Warwick, Mayor of Philadelphia, Major-General George R. Snowden, Commander-in-Chief of the State troops, and members of his staff, in uniform, occupied the Washington Pew, and the Penn Family Pew. The church was decorated throughout with the American national colors, and above the altar were draped the English and American flags. The music was rendered by members of the Eurydice and Orpheus Societies of Philadelphia, accompanied by organ and instrumental pieces, under the direction of Mr. Michael H. Cross, choirmaster of the Church of the Holy Trinity. The Service was conducted by the Rev. C. Ellis Stevens, LL.D., D.C.L., Rector of the church, as Chaplain-General of the national Society of Colonial Wars, and of the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States. The sermon was preached by the Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Iowa, as Chaplain-General of the Naval Order of the United States, and of the Society of the Cincinnati.

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